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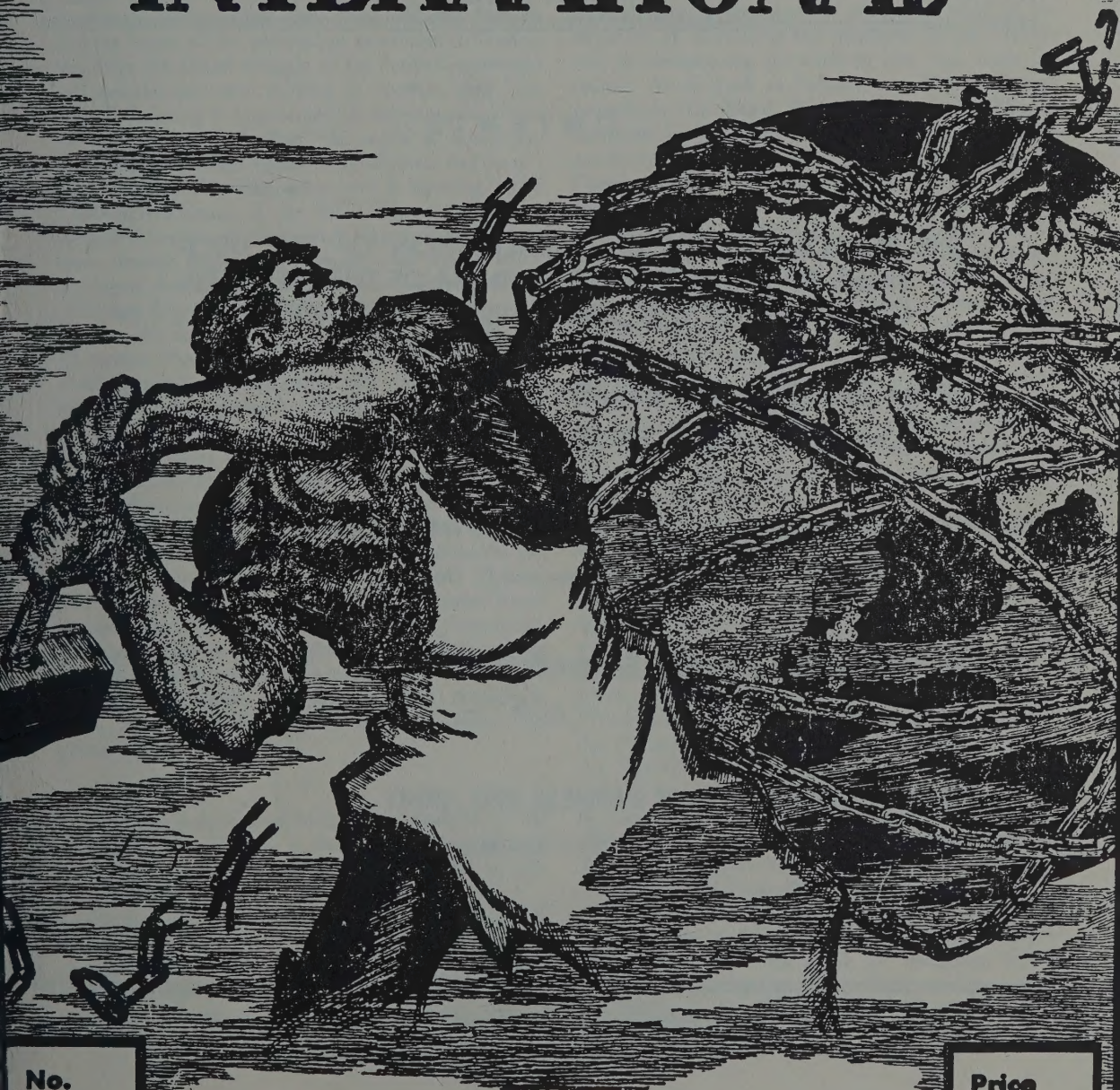

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THE POPULARIZATION AND REALIZATION OF THE DECISIONS OF THE THIRTEENTH PLENUM OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

THE three months which followed the closing of the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. passed amidst bitter class fights waged in different capitalist countries.

Only open renegades will now deny, after the first large-scale battle which took place between fascism and the forces of the proletarian revolution in France, and after the armed struggle of the heroic Communist and social-democratic workers in Austria, that "the idea of storming it [capitailsm] is maturing in the of the masses" (Stalin), that "the world is closely approaching the second round of revolutions and wars", that "the world revolutionary crisis is ripening" (the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.), and that the vanguard battles of the second round of revolutions have already begun. The sharp class fights which developed during these months in all corners of the globe—in China, Cuba, Spain, France, Austria, etc., confirm the correctness of the main task which the Thirteenth Plenum placed before all Communists and which consists "in directing the mass movement towards the struggle to overthrow the dictatorship of the exploiting class", as well as its main slogan, namely, that of Soviet Power.

The activity and the press of the Communist Parties testify now, three months after the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., that the majority of Communist Parties have mastered the most essential political theses and tasks set by the Thirteenth Plenum, and that now as never before they are consolidated on the basis of the Bolshevik line of the Comintern. We see an obvious and indubitable political growth of the majority of Party organizations which have achieved ideological and organizational monolithic unity in the course of bitter struggle against opportunism.

1

However, before proceeding to an analysis of the activity of the Parties, a few words must be said about the *popularization* of the decisions of the Thirteenth Plenum.

The first and foremost political duty of the Central Committee and of the central organs of every Party should have been to bring the decisions of the Plenum to the knowledge of the lower nuclei, and of every individual member of the Party.

It was precisely this viewpoint that a considerable majority of Communist Parties adopted in popularizing the decisions of the Thirteenth Plenum. Thus, for instance, in spite of the difficult conditions of complete illegality, the C.P. of Germany carried through quite a considerable amount of work in the direction of explaining the decisions of the Plenum and in reorganizing its work in line with these decisions. As far back as January a leading article was printed in the illegal *Rote Fahne*, entitled "Soviet Germany Is Our Only Salvation", and in it the decisions of the Plenum were concretized to suit the German situation. In addition, the most important speeches were distributed as illegal pamphlets, and the local Party organizations issued instructions for the decisions of the Plenum to be studied in the nuclei. Half-way through January special courses were organized for the preparations of new cadres, and the decisions of the Thirteenth Plenum formed the basis of the program followed. The decisions of the Plenum met with a response among the masses of the social-democratic workers. It is well known, for instance, that a certain group composed of numerous social-democratic workers mimeographed the decisions of the Thirteenth Plenum and distributed them among the masses.

The Communist Party of France has also fulfilled a great and good piece of work in popularizing the decisions of the Plenum and in concretizing them to harmonize with the situation in France. A Plenum of the C.C. discussed a report on the E.C.C.I. Plenum, and adopted a resolution defining the line of the Party on the basis of the decisions of the latter. A series of independent articles was published in *l'Humanite,* which explain the line and decisions of the Plenum, and the tasks that follow therefrom for the French workers. It is a defect, however, that in spite of the great amount of work done, the Plenum decisions have not yet been brought to the nuclei. There is no information in the Party press regarding the extent to which the Plenum decisions have been discussed in the lower Party organizations.

In the C.P.'s of Belgium and Switzerland, on the contrary, the main weight of the popularization of the Plenum was transferred for discussion in the nuclei and among the active Party workers.

The Communist Party of the U.S.A. popularized

the theses of the Thirteenth Plenum in its activity connected with the preparations for the Party Convention. Comrade Browder's extensive report on the results of the work of the Plenum and on the situation in the U.S.A., was published in the central organ of the Party and later appeared in the February number of *The Communist,* the theoretical organ of the Party. The pre-Convention discussion testifies to the fact that the organizations of the Party have discussed the decisions of the Plenum, the discussion placing a number of questions dealing with the Party's mass work, and organizational questions in connection with the realization of the political line, etc.

In England, Comrade Pollitt wrote a pamphlet on the importance of and the basic decisions of the Plenum as applied to the tasks facing the Communist Party of Great Britain. The delegation of the C.P. G.B. at the Thirteenth Plenum has made many reports in the various local organizations. The theses of the Plenum were published in the *Daily Worker* and the most important reports were published as pamphlets. However, in the two numbers of the theoretical magazine, *The Labor Monthly,* and in the *Communist Review* which appeared after the Plenum, there are no articles on the Plenum and its most important decisions.

However, a number of sections have failed to treat the problem of popularizing the decisions of the Thirteenth Plenum with sufficient attention. The C.P. of Spain occupies a fighting position in the class struggle which is unfolding, and we shall deal further on with its magnificent actions in connection with the Austrian events. But as far as the popularization of the Plenum decisions is concerned, we must state that it did not even publish the theses of the E.C.C.I. in the press. In the first half of January, the *Bandera Roja,* the illegal weekly paper of the Communist Party of Spain, published an official notice on its fourth page about the Plenum having taken place. The next number contained an exceedingly general editorial on its decisions, headed "Our Historical Problem Is to Seize the Power". The next number of the paper (issued the fourth week of January) never mentioned the Plenum in any of the articles. The Party press contains no information as to whether the decisions of the Plenum have been discussed by the active Party workers, let alone the lower Party nuclei.

The Communist Party of Italy was very late in issuing the January number of the *Stato Operaio,* but no mention of the Plenum is to be found there.

In Roumania there is no illumination of the work of the Plenum in the illegal Party press.

At the same time the illegal conditions under which these Parties have to work, cannot serve as a sufficient reason to explain their lagging behind in this respect. Indeed, despite similar conditions of underground work, the Communist Party of Poland not only published the decisions of the Thirteenth Plenum but even commented on them in a number of articles, while the Plenum of the Central Commitee of the Polish Commuist Party concretized the decisions of the E.C.C.I. Plenum in resolutions adapted to Polish conditions, and ensured their discussion by the lower organizations of the Party.

II

On the basis of the general thesis that "a turn may take place at any moment which will signify the transformation of the economic crisis into a revolutionary crisis", the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. made it an obligation of "all Sections of the Communist International to be on their guard at every turn of events, and to exert every effort, without losing a moment, for the revolutionary preparation of the proletariat for the impending decisive battles for power". (Thirteenth Plenum Theses.)

The events in France and Austria, which served as the biggest test of the correctness of the political estimation of the current situation by the Plenum, at the same time made clear how far the Communist Parties, skillfully, energetically and in good time availed themselves of the rapid zig-zags of the political situation to mobilize the masses for the struggle against fascism, and to undermine the influence of social-democracy over the masses.

In the events of February 6-12, *the Communist Party of France* took up a correct political line and rapidly mobilized the masses under its slogans against fascist provocation. In circumstances where the proletarian masses were indignant at the brazen attack of fascism, the Communist Party of France fulfilled its role as vanguard of the toilers by giving them correct slogans of struggle, and showing them the right ways and methods of gaining victory.

Unlike the Communist Parties of Germany, Poland and a number of other countries, the C.P. of France did not go through a period of civil war in the first round of revolutions, nor did it become steeled in such fights. Nevertheless, when the sharp class battles took place in February, the C.P. of France showed that besides having excellent fighting and revolutionary qualities, it also knew how to go with and in front of the masses, and how to energetically develop the united front of the proletariat against fascism. It was the C.P. of France which made the main slogan of the Comintern, namely, the slogan of Soviet Power, as set forth by the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., the slogan of the broad masses of the workers who rose to the fight against fascism.

The class fights which developed in France and the rebuff given to fascism by the proletariat have shown to the broadest masses of the toilers of the

whole world, that the "fascist dictatorship is not an inevitable stage of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in all countries. The possibility of averting it depends upon the forces of the fighting proletariat, which are paralyzed by the corrupting influence of social-democracy more than by anything else". (Theses of the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.)

Following the fighting directives of the Thirteenth Plenum which directed the Communist Party of Austria to meet the oncoming mighty battles against fascism, the C.P. of Austria called on the workers to declare a general strike, to disarm the police and the *Heimwehr,* and to fight for the overthrow of the fascist government of Dollfuss. This call was issued before the outbreak of the struggle in Linz.

Though the Communist Party of Austria was unable to establish its political and organizational leadership over the armed struggles of the workers, since it had the mass Social-Democratic Party against it, a party which right up to the last moment had the overwhelming majority of the Austrian proletariat as its followers, nevertheless the events have shown that the broadest masses of social-democratic and non-Party workers are coming over to acceptance of the slogan of the general strike and armed methods of struggle, as proposed by the Communist Party.

The struggle broke out in Linz, where the Communist Party of Austria was strongest, where there was an opposition to social-democracy, and where the development of the struggle of the Communist Party for the united front of the proletariat was most successful. In Vienna the signal for the general strike was given by the workers of the chemical works and of the electric power station, where there existed factory nuclei of the C.P. of Austria which were ready for the fight. During the armed struggle, the members of the Communist Party fought shoulder to shoulder against the armed forces of fascism along with members of the social-democratic Schutzbund, from which organization they formerly had been expelled by the social-democratic leaders, Otto Bauer and Co., and they showed examples of revolutionary heroism in this struggle.

The workers and toiling masses of the Soviet Union gave an example of international proletarian solidarity. In factories and works, in mines, institutions and universities, meetings were organized where information was given on the Austrian events, and a big campaign was developed for the collection of funds for the families of the victims of White Terror in Austria. The result was that the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions was able to remit one million gold shillings for the Relief Fund of the Austrian workers. Children's homes are being established in the U.S.S.R. to take care of the children of the fighters shot or hung in Vienna, Steyr, Linz, and other towns in Austria. Many Austrian proletarians who are now in exile, will find work in the fatherland of the world proletariat, on the great construction works of the Second Five Year Plan.

The Communist Party of Spain called on the workers to reply to the terror of the Dollfuss government with a demonstrative general strike. Despite the refusal of the socialists and anarcho-syndicalists to take part in the strike, over 100,000 workers responded to the slogan of the Communist Party of Spain and stopped work as a protest against Austrian and Spanish fascism.

From the very outset of the Austrian events the Communist Party of the United States conducted considerable international agitation in its daily press. It explained the meaning and the importance of the struggle of the Austrian workers, it exposed the treacherous role of Austrian social-democracy and linked up this exposure with the struggle against American social-fascism, and against the Muste group in particular. The Communist Party of the U.S.A. mobilized the masses for a demonstration of protest at the Austrian embassy. The New York *Daily Worker* responded on a large scale to the events in Cuba, in France and particularly in Germany, and it has particularly begun activity in defense of Comrade Thaelmann. This newspaper printed Comrade Stalin's report at the Seventeenth Party Congress, but in spite of this, the information in the *Daily Worker* about the Soviet Union is still insufficient, while the campaign in defense of the Chinese Soviets has still not been developed to the necessary degree.

The legal press of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the *Rudo Pravo* and the *Vorwaerts* which is the Communist newspaper for the German districts of Czechoslovakia, which prior to February 12 (the day of the outbreak of the armed struggle of the Austrian workers) adopted a fighting tone in the spirit of the revolutionary call of the C.P. of Austria, and called the Czechoslovakian proletariat in its turn to support the fighting Austrian workers, dropped its fighting tone immediately afterwards, and allowed the social-democracy to push it on one side, and the latter utilized the Austrian events demagogically to strengthen social-democratic illusions among the masses. And it was only after the speech made by Comrade Gottwald on February the 15, that the Party began to make up for time lost and initiative let slip in mass agitation.

Beginning from February 15, the C.P. of Czechoslovakia organized numerous political pro.est strikes throughout the country (at 13 enterprises in Reichenberg, at 52 enterprises in Schoenberg, etc.). Different Party organizations (in Brunn, Octran, Gradek, Bratislava) developed mass actions on their own initiative (strikes and demonstrations) beginning on February 12, i.e., on the first day of the armed

struggle of the Austrian workers. In a number of cities (Prague, etc.) mass demonstrations were organized, and in some places they developed into sharp conflicts with the police.

In Kolin, the workers set up barricades. In spite of the fact that it was prohibited, a conference was called in Prague composed of representatives of enterprises, and among the ninety delegates who attended, forty-two belonged to the reformist unions or were non-Party.

While generally carrying on a correct and sharp struggle the social-democracy, certain organizations (Communists in some enterprises in Kladno, the legal newspaper the *Ruda Vecherna*) took up an opportunist attitude to the "Left" maneuvers of the Social-Democratic Party which proclaimed a five-minute general protest strike.

On the whole, the activity of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia in connection with the Austrian events, showed that the C.P. of Czechoslovakia has good contacts with the masses, and that it is able to make approaches to the masses of social-democratic and non-Party workers, and to take the initiative in developing the united front of the workers. At the same time, it served as a signal to the effect that the Party must intensify its leadership over its legal press and be increasingly watchful over its Party organizations as regards deviations from the line of the Party.

The Party press of the Communist Party of France, and *l'Humanite* in the first instance, gave the French proletariat comparatively good information about the heroic struggle of the Austrian workers. In particular, it acutely formulated the most important lesson of this struggle, namely, the question of the leading role of the Communist Party in the united front of the fighting proletariat, as the imperative prerequisite for victory.

However, *Emancipation*, the organ of the Paris district of Saint-Denis,—in opposition to the line of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France on this question,—gave an extremely incorrect estimation of the meaning and lessons of the Austrian events.

In the editorial which appeared in the number of February 25, under the caption: "Long Live the Austrian Proletariat", we find the following "lessons" of Austrian events propagated.

In the first place it appears that

> "It was against the wish of the German social-democracy, who did not want to lead the socialist proletariat for an armed struggle against Hitler's gangs, that the Austrian toilers undertook the uprising against the Austrian army."

But do not the Austrian leaders of social-democracy assert the same thing, when they try to raise their worth in the eyes of those workers who are becoming revolutionized, falsely representing themselves as "revolutionary" social-democrats as distinct from German "reformist" social-democrats? Why did the author of the editorial in the *Emancipation* omit the substantial "trifle" that it was precisely against the wish of the leaders of Austrian social-fascism, against the wish of Otto Bauer, Deutsch, and their like, that the Austrian proletarians, the heroic Austrian Schutzbund, arose in struggle?

Secondly, we read further in the same editorial:

> "They [the workers—Ed.] responded to the attack of the government on the socialist and autonomous city, the local socialist papers, on the workers' organizations of Linz. Concentrated attacks show the determination of the government to put an end to the social-democratic organizations, in the same way it put an end to the organization of the Communists several months ago."

And further:

> "It [the Austrian bourgeoisie—Ed.] took advantage of all the delays of the Social-Democratic Party in order to consolidate its forces. Step by step it reduced the forces of social-democracy. And it continued to do so till the day when it felt itself sufficiently strong to undertake the attack for the complete destruction of social-democracy."

Here every word is as unpardonable mistake. It is not true in the first place, as the paper alleges, that the Austrian workers rose in defense of the "autonomous and socialist" city of Vienna, in defense of "the local socialist papers". There never was, and never could be a socialist city Vienna, for the simple reason that social-democracy carried through a bourgeois and not a socialist policy, when it held the reins of the Vienna City Council. And does this paper need to have this very simple truth explained?

As a matter of fact, the Austrian workers rose to the defense of the remnants of the social gains they had achieved during the first round of revolutions, in defense of social insurance, workers' homes, democratic rights for the workers, and so forth. And it was not only in defense of these things that they rose up in arms, but they did so also in the struggle against the fascist dictatorship, against the whole system of capitalist slavery, for proletarian and not Viennese socialism, for workers' power!

> "Let the Second International not vulgarize this uprising by alleging that the workers rose up in defense of the parliamentary democratic regime, in defense of Vienna municipality. If the Austrian workers had been victorious, they would have overthrown the power of Dollfusses, Feys and of the whole bourgeoisie as a class. They would have created Soviets, and would have established the proletarian dictatorship, following the example of

the workers of the U.S.S.R." (*l'Humanite*, March 14, 1934.)

But the *Emancipation* keeps silent about all this.

Nor is it true, that the government of Dollfuss decided "to put an end" to social-democracy "just as" it had "put an end" (but did it, comrades from the *Emancipation?!*) to the Communist Party. Nor is it a correct formulation of the question that the Dollfuss government reduced the forces of social-democracy step by step and finally, decided to "destroy" it altogether. Is it possible that the author of the *Emancipation* editorial considers social-democracy though an opportunist party, yet a second party of the workers along with the Communist Party. Only thus do the above ways of reasoning become comprehensible.

In reality the fact is that it was the Austrian Social-Democratic Party itself which systematically weakened the forces of the Austrian proletariat in the interests of the bourgeoisie and at the social instructions of the latter. In reality, the Austrian Social-Democratic Party put an end to itself politically by revealing its anti-democratic and social-fascist nature to the masses, and by failing to struggle even for the democratic rights of the workers, merely carrying on a struggle for its right to legal existence within the framework of the fascist Dollfuss constitution.

And the government of Dollfuss was forced to ban the social-democracy, to dissolve the Schutzbund and to close the social-democratic papers, only because the last remnants of the workers' democratic rights and the *organizations, where the workers were concentrated in masses,* represented a menace to the domination of the bourgeoisie, undermined as it was. They became dangerous because they could be utilized by the workers, against the wish of the Social-Democratic Party and it leaders, for the class struggle against the bourgeoisie and its fascist dictatorship, just as the workers did actually make use of the Schutzbund in the armed struggle in Austria.

We will not stop here to analyze the further mistakes contained in the editorial of the newspaper *Emancipation*. We consider the above quotation quite sufficient to render the question absolutely clear. The question arises, what is the attitude of the Communists of the Saint-Denis district to such an un-Communist position—to put it mildly—of the Party newspaper of their district.

The following conclusion needs to be drawn from all we have stated regarding the activity of the Communist Parties in face of the armed struggle of Austria: Despite a considerable growth in the mobility of the Parties and in their ability to develop movements of international solidarity when faced with proletarian movements in other countries, the political level called for so persistently by the whole political situation has still not been reached as yet. The impending mighty battles in the weakest links of the capitalist system, or outbreak of war, and still more so a counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union, will exact from all the Communist Parties an immeasurably greater strain of all forces for the development of the proletarian struggle at home in support of the proletarian struggle in other countries, and in support of the Soviet Union.

> "The example of Bolshevism is the example of proletarian internationalism. The victory of the Socialist revolution is possible only by strengthening the international ties of the revolutionary proletariat." (Theses of the Thirteenth Plenum).

III

We will now proceed to the following group of questions: to the question of the united front, mass work, and the leading role of the Communist Party.

It is obvious, that when we are faced with unanimous agreement on the political line of the Comintern, and when the Parties have reached a monolithic state, having isolated and eliminated both Right and "Left" opportunists from their ranks, and when further, ever wider masses of toilers listen to the voice of the Parties and respond to their appeals and slogans, then it is good *organizational work and a correct approach to mass work in the enterprises and in the trade unions* that become the decisive factor determining the success of the political line of the Party.

Orientating the Communist Parties to the winning over of the masses for the realization of the great tasks of the international proletariat, namely, to transform the crisis of the capitalist world into the victory of the proletarian revolution, the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. called upon "all Sections of the Communist International persistently to fight for the realization of a united militant front with the social-democratic workers, in spite of and against the will of the treacherous leaders of social-democracy". To know how to isolate social-democracy from the masses, to turn the masses to the side of the Communist Parties, under present conditions when the objective conditions for a revolutionary crisis have already matured or are rapidly maturing in all capitalist countries of the world—means to create the fundamental and imperative condition for the transition to the tasks of the direct struggle for power. *At the present moment the fight for the masses is the fight for power.*

> "In the conditions of the maturing of the world revolutionary crisis, when the bourgeoisie is trying to divert the ferment, the discontent and the indignation of the masses into the channel of *fascization and war*, in order to strengthen its dictatorship, the main task of the Communists is to

direct this mass movement towards the fight for the overthrow of the dictatorship of the exploiting classes." (Thirteenth Plenum Theses.)

But it is precisely in the sphere of mass work that the Communist Parties have least of all had any achievements right until very recently. However, in this regard as well, improvements are to be observed in a number of Communist Parties in the last few months. The German Communist Party which on the eve of the fascist coup d'etat stood at the head of over six million toilers, which after this coup d'etat was driven underground, is becoming the only mass Party of the proletariat, and is preparing to storm the fascist regime.

The C.P. of Germany has been able to reorganize its work to such an extent during the recent period, in line with illegal conditions, that it has become even more difficult for the class enemy to do any damage to the Party's organizations, while the latter continue to consolidate and extend their contacts with the masses. The C.P. of Germany has already become the only center of attraction for all workers and the masses of toilers who are seeking for leadership in the revolutionary struggle against fascism. The C.P. of Germany has correctly taken the situation into account, a situation which opens up huge possibilities for liquidating the mass influence of social-democracy and overcoming what still prevails in some of its organizations, namely, fear of the masses and a reluctance to accept former social-democratic workers into the Party. The C.P.G. must intensify its activity in the fascist trade unions and boldly develop the united front struggle of Communist, social-democratic workers and workers belonging to the fascist trade unions. By following this path, the Communist Party of Germany has every possibility of rallying around itself in a short time all the millions of workers who were formerly followers of the treacherous social-democracy and of becoming the only mass Party leading the struggle of the proletariat for social and national liberation, for the dictatorship of the proletariat and for a Soviet Germany.

The Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. and the Second Plenum of the C.P. of Poland have pointed to the possibility of mass political struggles developing in Poland. Immediately following the Plenum, a huge wave of strikes broke out, directed against the anti-labor fascist laws which liquidate the social conquests of the proletariat, and against the fascist govment. The initiative in the struggle is in the hands of the Communists right from the start, and they are pursuing a line directed towards a general protest strike—in agreement with the line laid down by the Plenum. The wide, and to a very great degree successful, campaign of the 20th of December 1933 is, in spite of the Polish Socialist Party (P.P.S.) becoming the forerunner of all-round actions of the working class.

For the first quarter of 1934 alone, over 350,000 workers of the main industrial centers including the Warsaw metal workers and the textile workers throughout the country, etc., took part in the strike movement against the fascist decrees. And in this huge campaign the Party has not yet fully succeeded in putting into operation the line of the Plenums which calls for the political realization of the class battles, nor have the revolutionary way out of the crisis, the slogan of Soviet Power and the successes of Soviet labor legislation been sufficiently popularized. At the same time, the general strike against the fascist social legislation, called prematurely for January 24, showed that the Party did not appreciate the full importance of thoroughgoing political and organizational preparation of the masses for a general political strike which is carried through by ourselves independently, and exposed the weakness in applying the tactics of the united front. The C.C. of the C.P. of Poland has drawn attention to these points.

The C.P.P. is transferring the question of the general strike to the factories and trade unions, where the activity of the Communists has declined recently, and in all working class organizations, and is organizing the united front of the workers under our slogans. The C.P.G. is pointing out to the workers that the general strike must not take the form of a peaceful display, but must broaden out into a mighty demonstration of the proletariat which consolidates its alliance with the broadest masses of the Polish peasantry throughout the country. The C.P.G. is thus leading the masses forward to a revolutionary general strike, such as will pave the way for an armed uprising, and is doing so systematically, but still not popularizing it sufficiently concretely in its agitation.

In fulfilling the militant directives of the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I., concerning the intensification of its activity in the trade unions and among the unemployed, and the conversion of the Communist Party into a mass Party, the C.P. of Great Britain developed a mass Hunger March of the unemployed and organized the National Congress of Action on the basis of the united front of class struggle. Fourteen hundred delegates took part in the National Congress of Action. Two hundred and twenty local trade union branches from forty-five different trade unions, including a considerable number of delegates from the railwaymen, and covering a total number of 320,000 persons were representd at this Congress. The initiative of the Communist Party, and the obvious popularity of the idea of the Hunger March and of the Congress of Action among the broad masses of the proletariat, forced the Independent Labor Party to take part in this movement as well. The Communist Party of Great Britain de-

veloped constructive self-criticism in the course of the struggle. In his speeches, Comrade Pollitt exposed a number of shortcomings and errors in carrying through the campaign (in particular the turning down, in the resolution of the Congress, of the criticism of the Labor Party, under the pressure of the reformist leaders of the Independent Labor Party, and the failure to combine the Hunger March with the development of strike struggles in the enterprises).

The extensive participation in the Congress of Action by delegates from trade unions may become a serious beginning for the political influence of the Communist Party of Great Britain among the masses, becoming strengthened organizationally on condition that the Communist Party develops further persistent activity in the reformist trade unions.

On one of the most important aspects of our mass work, namely, in trade union work, serious success can be noted in the work of our *Hungarian* Party. It became possible to achieve this success after the lower and middle ranks of the Party were thoroughly cleaned of provocatory elements. This success found its expression in the fact that after the Party had overcome sectarian stagnation, it succeeded in getting a wide mass of revolutionary workers to join the reformist builders' and bakers' unions, and in organizing a powerful trade union opposition in these unions, which prepared the ground for and very well organized a builders' strike. While this strike was on, strike-breakers were forcibly driven off and beaten up. As a result of the strike, the trade union opposition has taken hold of the leadership of the union and has cleverly beaten off all attempts of the trade union bureaucrats to attach themselves to this affair late in the day, to present the success of the strike as their success, or at any rate to divide up spheres of influence with the trade union opposition, their line being: "You preserve your leadership in the capital, and allow us, trade union officials, to lead the union in the provinces."

These valuable experiences in the trade union work of our Hungarian comrades are worthy of study by other Sections of the Comintern, so that they may learn therefrom lessons for themselves.

The Communist Party of France, so strongly and deservedly criticized at the Thirteenth Plenum for lagging behind in a number of aspects in the struggle, and in the first place for its inadequate struggle for the isolation of social-democracy from the masses, for poor work in reformist trade unions, for insufficient activity in the development of the united front and for opportunist distortions of the same, achieved great successes in this direction during the events of February 6-12, 1934.

The Communist Party of France took the initiative in developing the struggle for the united front from below, by suggesting to all its organizations to propose to the local sections of the Socialist Party and of the General Confederation of Labor the creation of a united front. The Communist Party of France quite properly refrained from negotiating at the top with the social-democratic leadership. Leon Blum, Paul Faure and Co., wanted by means of such negotiations to repeat their old maneuvers which had been successful once, namely, to substitute for the real struggle of the masses against fascism and the "national unity" government, fruitless pallaver about "unity".

As a result of these tactics adopted by the Communist Party of France, the united front of action was created in the localities, the Communists retained the initiative in the struggle, and the political influence of the Communist Party increased. During the period of the events of February 6 to 12, the circulation of *l'Humanite* increased to 600,000 copies.

However, the extent to which these successes will be consolidated will depend upon the Party's persistent mass organizational work.

In the last month 2,000 people have joined the Party (4,000 during the first three months). This would not be so bad in ordinary circumstances. But considering the acuteness of the political situation and the undoubted growth of the political influence of the Communist Party of France among the masses, the figure is absolutely insufficient and could be exceeded by the Party many times. It is considerably worse in the Unitary Confederation of Labor which has failed to develop the enlistment of new members even in these days. On the day of the general strike (February 12), *i.e.* the day of tremendous political upsurge of the movement, elections took place to the Council Superieur des Chemins de fer (which regulates conditions of labor, etc., etc.). Our Unitary Trade Union holds a strong position among the railwaymen. Notwithstanding this, at the elections for the Council, the correlation between it and the reformist union remained the same as previously, namely, 110,000 persons voted for the railwaymen's union belonging to the Unitary Confederation of Labor, whereas the union belonging to the reformist General Confederation of Labor received hardly much less. These results are all the more unsatisfactory when it is borne in mind that the reformist railway union quite recently disrupted the strike of the railwaymen, and as may be seen from the results of the election, the Communists failed to take sufficient advantage of this treachery to expose the reformist leadership. And it is only the fact that the Communists succeeded in winning over the delegates of the autonomous and other unions at the voters' meeting, that was responsible for their success in securing the election of

Communist representatives to the "Supreme Railwaymen's Council".

It is characteristic that despite the relatively good organization of political agitation against imperialist war of France in Morocco, and the improvement in the activity of the Communist Party of France among the soldiers, primarily on the basis of their everyday requirements, not a single case of the stoppage of the transport of arms and munitions which have been shipped in considerable quantitties to the theatre of war, has been reported in the press. And yet the success of this work, imposed by the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. upon the Communist Parties as one of the most important tasks in their anti-war struggles, depends entirely upon the position of the Party among railwaymen and seamen.

Thus, although the Communist Party of France has had indisputable success in the application of the tactics of the united front (we will deal with the various mistakes of its different Party organizations later on), no serious turn has been apparent hitherto as regards work in the reformist trade unions and in the enterprises. It is all the more dangerous since the further inevitable aggravation of the class struggle in France may even in the very near future place before the Communist Party of France the task of organizing big mass political actions, which it will have to carry out independently, while paralyzing the open sabotage of the socialist leadership. In these circumstances the success of political activity of the Communists will depend in the first instance upon their positions in the enterprises and in the reformist trade unions. An indispensable condition for assuring positive and rapid success in this connection is the concentration of the activity and the forces of the Party and of the Unitary Confederation of Labor on the most important branches of industry, in the most important enterprises. It is no accident that the Communist Party of the U.S.A., in developing its pre-Convention discussion, concentrated its attention on the "Open Letter" of the American Party, which is based upon the principle of concentrating the forces of the Party at those sectors of work which are the most important from the political and organizational standpoint.

A number of mistakes continue to be committed by a number of the local organizations of the C. P. of France despite the special instructions of the Thirteenth Plenum of the E. C. C. I. in connection with the tendency to tone down criticism of the Social-Democratic Parties and conceal the face of the Communist Parties.

The tremendous *extension of the number of participants in the united front struggle, the attraction of ever broader* masses of social-democratic workers into the united front with the Communists, and which is an extremely *favourable* phenomenon, at the same time evokes various relapses into social-democratic errors on the part of the weak links of the Communist Party organizations. The tactics of the united front are the only correct Bolshevik tactics, which have nothing in common with sectarianism, or fear of the masses, which are calculated to establish the maximum of connections with the mass of social-democratic and non-Party workers, and are based on the certainty that it is possible to raise them under the leadership of the Communist Party for revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie, and fascism. And while it is true that such tactics always contain the danger that they will receive an opportunist distortion, the possibility of such mistakes which, by the way, have not to occur of necessity, must under no circumstances result in passivity, in sectarianism, in a renunciation of the broadest initiative in developing the united front struggle. Any opportunist errors that spring up in any Party organizations must be rectified in the course of the work.

Thus for instance, Comrade Jitou (in the editorial of the *Cahiers du Bolchevisme* of March 1, 1934) cites an example from the application of the united front in the Fourth district, where all criticism, not only of the Socialist Party, but even of the counter-revolutionary groups of the "Communist League", was stopped. And the Communists who committed this gross error attempt to justify the fact that they have forgotten the most elementary Communist principles by talk of the necessity for the "successful operation of the general strike," or by apprehensions that the "unity" which was achieved with so much difficulty would be split. In reality, however, this renunciation of criticism of the socialists resulted in the ideological and organizational disarming of the proletariat in the face of fascism, for whom the Social-Democratic Party clears the road by perpetuating the split of the proletariat and in the capitulation of the Communists before the slogans of the Social-Democratic Party, "defense of the republic, defense of democracy."

If we bear in mind that at an early stage as well, the tendencies towards *blocs* with socialists from the top were strong in the Communist Party of France, and that even now the petty-opportunist ideas of the necessity of creating "a bloc of action" of all toilers, that it should be created by overcoming "manoeuvres, no matter where they originate," even penetrate into the columns of the local press, the conclusion must be reached that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France and *l'Humanite* are quite right when they do not relax their struggle against sectarian passivity in the organization of the united front struggles and at the

same time concentrate the strongest fire against Right opportunism, which is making attempts to raise its head in different links of the Party organization in France.

In the C. P. of Spain, in the past, sectarian anarchist traditions which were manifested primarily in hostility towards the united front, were extremely strong in the Communist Party of Spain. It was only the expulsion of Bullejos, Adam and the Trilia group from the Party that created a certain turn towards the correct line of active struggle to win over the majority of the working class for the Communists. By initiating the development of the united front, the Party has achieved *considerable successes* in the mass revolutionary strike movement developing before our eyes, and which has urgently raised the question of organizing a direct struggle for power.

However, the experience of realizing the united front shows that social-democratic and anarcho-syndicalist survivals in the Party are extremely tenacious and manifested themselves chiefly in the submission of the Communists to the spontaneity of the workers' movement and in the under-estimation of the most important task confronting the Communists, namely, to organize the revolution. This orientation on spontaneity and the elemental force of the proletarian movement is manifested even in the discussion of the question of factory and works committees, of united front committees, and of Soviets.

The main danger of such dependence on the spontaneity of the united front movement—is primarily that united front committees will not be created at all, or that they will not be created in the *most important* sectors, namely, the enterprises. Experience is already signalizing these facts for the majority of united front committees spring up at meetings and conferences without showing any adequate symptoms of activity.

In the Spanish Party press one often meets with assertions that the "unity of the proletariat" will be achieved through united front committees, factory committees, and through Soviets. No stress is laid and at times complete silence is maintained about the role of the Party in achieving the unity of the proletariat by isolating social-democracy and anarcho-syndicalism from the masses of workers and toilers. For example, let us take the way the paper *La Lucha* puts the question—this paper is a non-Party united front paper. But in so far as Communists take part in it, they should have expressed their viewpoint so that confusion on this question should not introduce any harm into the ranks of the proletariat. The article "Urgent Question About Power" appearing in *La Lucha* of Jan. 18, states:

> "In Spain the proletariat is split as was the case in Russia prior to the seizure of power. Unity was achieved by means of factory committees, through peasant committees and the Soviets, which even before the armed uprising became embryos of the second power."

This statement contains a great deal of truth, but not the whole truth. This truth lies in the fact, that it was easy for the Bolsheviks to establish the closest ties with the masses by creating works committees, Soviets and other mass organizations of the proletariat. However, another share of the truth, which the article in *La Lucha* fails to stress sufficiently later on, lies in the fact that the unity was achieved under the monopolist leadership of the Leninist Party, which succeeded in isolating the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries from the masses, and knew how to win over the Soviets politically and organizationally.

"Unity Through Soviets" or "Unity Through Factory Committees, Through United Front Committees" — these are formulae which say nothing about *the basis* on which this unity is to be built, whether it is to be compromising or revolutionary.

In his speech at the Plenum of the C. C. of the C. P. S. U. held in January 1933, Comrade Stalin said that: "We know of cases when Soviets of workers' and soldiers' deputies, for a certain time, supported the counter-revolution against the revolution. That was the case in July 1917, when the Soviets were led by the Mensheviks and the Socialist Revolutionaries, and when the Soviets shielded the counter-revolution against the revolution. That was the case in Germany at the end of 1918, when the Soviets were led by the social-democrats, and when they shielded the counter-revolution against the revolution. Hence it is not only a matter of the Soviets as a form of organization, even though that form represents a great revolutionary gain; the matter lies primarily in the content of the work of the Soviets, the matter lies in the character of the work of the Soviets, it is a matter of *who* precisely are leading the Soviets—revolutionaries or counter-revolutionaries. This, properly speaking, explains the fact that counter-revolutionaries do not always oppose Soviets . . . The counter-revolutionaries have understood that it is not merely a matter of the Soviets as such, but primarily a matter of who is to lead them."

In the same number of *La Lucha* in the article signed by Juan H. Blanco, we read the following about the importance and role of united front committees:

> "These committees in the enterprises should be centralized, and a centralized committee is the only

authoritative organ to guide the struggle of the working class."

And further:

"Let the authoritative voice of the whole working class, organized in a united front, rise over the head of despotic trade union centers which are fighting each other."

Instead of considering the committees of the united front as one of the driving belts, which connect the Party with the masses, and as an arena of political struggle between the Communists and social-fascists, the committees of the united front are entrusted with the whole task of leading the struggle of the working class, i.e. the task which the Communist Party alone is called on and is able to realize.

To sum up: During the months which have passed since the Thirteenth Plenum, a number of Communist Parties, particularly those which have hitherto lagged behind in mass work (such as the C. P. of France, Hungary, etc.) have undoubtedly achieved *positive advances* in this sphere of Party work. It has been proven that if a correct approach is made to the masses of the social-democratic and fascist workers, if an insistent struggle is carried on for elected posts in the reformist unions, and if initiative is displayed in developing the united front struggle, the Communists can achieve huge successes in a very short period, in the direction of undermining the mass influence of social-democracy and the trade union bureaucracy. At the same time these positive steps forward are only the *beginning* of the operation of the main task which faces the Communist Parties, namely, to become the only mass Party of the proletariat, with the majority of the working class following it in storming capitalism. All the Communist Parties must base themselves on the best examples of this mass work done and must clearly recognize the following, namely, that in the situation when the vanguard battles of the second round of revolutions have begun, the struggle for the masses is a decisive condition for developing a real fight for power.

IV

In conclusion we will say a few words about the manner in which the Communist Parties are dealing with the main slogan of the Comintern—namely, that of Soviet Power.

The slogan Soviet Power has been caught up by all the Communist Parties. In a number of countries, the U. S. A., for example, the slogan Soviet Power has been raised for the first time since the first round of revolutions. Wherever this slogan has been raised by the Parties, it is met with a vigorous response from the broad masses. Thus, for instance, in the demonstrations on Feb. 9 and during the general strike in France the slogan "Long Live Soviet Power in France" became the mass slogan of the anti-fascist demonstrators. It played a big revolutionary role as an opposition to the basic slogan of socialists: "Defend the Republic," *i.e.* defend the republic of the rich. But even in the countries of fascist dictatorship, where the illegal or semi-legal social-democracy or its separate groups utilize "Left" phrases, and are assiduously gambling with the slogan "dictatorship of the proletariat as a transitory power towards democracy," the slogan of Soviet Power, rallies the revolutionary masses who are coming around the Communist Parties and serves as a powerful weapon in the struggle against social-democracy.

However, if the slogan of the Soviets is beginning to play an ever-growing role in the streets, and during demonstrations, *it is far from becoming a slogan of every-day mass political agitation in the Party press.* The task set by the Plenum, namely:

". . . that the content and language of *agitation and the press* must henceforth be addressed to the broadest strata of the proletariat and the toilers, showing the face of the Communist Parties both in agitation and in mass actions (demonstrations, strikes and other mass action)."

is far from being realized or fulfilled by the Communist Parties. And it remains unfulfilled primarily in relation to the *principal* slogan of the Comintern—*Soviet Power.* In the majority of cases (as for instance in the press of the Communist Party of the U. S. A., or even of the Communist Party of France) this slogan appears in the editorials, chiefly forming an effective punch ending of the same. The Thirteenth Plenum on the other hand particularly stressed that:

"It is necessary with all insistence to raise the question of *power* in the *mass work* of the Communist Parties."

Take, for example, the leading article in the Communist *Vorwaerts* (the official organ of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia in the German regions) regarding the catastrophe in the mines of Ossega (*Vorwaerts* of Jan. 13, 1934). It would appear that the very fact of the tremendous catastrophe, in which scores of workers lost their lives, insistently called for the Party to raise the question of Soviet Power.

"In the situation when the toilers are in a state of great ferment [and the excitement of the toilers in connection with the events in Ossega was in-

deed tremendous—Ed.], the Communists, while taking into account the moods of the masses, must formulate *slogans and demands* in such a way as to make them arise from the present level of the movement; at the same time they must show the workers the revolutionary way out." (Theses of the Thirteenth Plenum.)

It was precisely this *simultaneous* display of the revolutionary way out to the workers, the way of struggle for *Soviet* Power that was lacking in the Party campaign in connection with the catastrophe in Ossega. It is true that *Vorwaerts* begins its editorial with a quotation from the resolution of the Thirteenth Plenum, but it does so clumsily, and does not address the broadest masses of the proletariat and the toilers. The newspaper, in a bookish manner, cites an excerpt from the resolution of the Plenum that "the world is *closely* approaching a new round of revolutions and wars," but the acutest slogan for the mobilization of the masses, the slogan of Soviet Power, is absent throughout the entire agitation of the Communists. Yet this slogan should be nothing but a consistent conclusion to be drawn from the *exposure* of the entire capitalist system at a time when the bourgeoisie in its chase for profits, takes no measures to protect the workers, and neglects even the most elementary measures for technical safety, etc., etc. In this connection it was absolutely imperative to draw a parallel between the position of the miners of Czechoslovakia and the position of the miners in the Soviet Union, to deal with Soviet labor legislation, the laws concerning safety and so forth.

The same thing is to be found in the *Rude Pravo* of Jan. 5. Instead of linking up the partial demands which follow from the circumstances of the catastrophe in Ossega with the chief slogan of the Communist Party, Soviet Power, a general vague slogan is proclaimed: "Long live the revolutionary struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat." Here the error is not only that the slogan of Soviet Power is absent, but that it is substituted by a slogan which is quite acceptable to social-democracy as well.

However, all we have said in this case about the Czechoslovakian press, is also characteristic of the overwhelming majority of the other Communist papers in other capitalist countries as well, which are far from having mastered the art of political agitation for the slogan of Soviet Power.

In this connection it is necessary to add, that the Communist Parties absolutely insufficiently utilize information about the U. S. S. R. to show concrete ways of struggle for the overthrow of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and to demonstrate what the Soviet Government gives to the toilers. As far as popularizing the U.S.S.R. is concerned, *l'Humanite* has done fairly well. However, this question of popularizing the U. S. S. R. and the decisions of the Seventeenth Congress of the C. P. S. U. is such a vast theme that we will deal with it separately.

FROM THE EDITORIAL BOARD

BELOW we print two exceptionally interesting and politically important documents, one published by the Communist Party of Austria, and the other written by social-democratic workers, members of the heroic Schutzbund who were betrayed by the social-democratic leadership.

The first document is a special issue of the *Rote Fahne* published by the Communist Party of Austria on Feb. 10, 1934, before the beginning of the February events. It is a flaming Bolshevik call for an *immediate general strike,* for the *disarming of the Hemiwehr* and the police, for the arming of the workers, and for the fight to overthrow the fascist government of Dollfuss. This document of our revolutionary epoch needs no comment. It speaks for itself.

The other document is a letter, an appeal of a group of members of the Schutzbund of one of the districts in Vienna (Brigittenau), written after the bloody suppression of the heroic struggle of the Austrian workers. In this letter there is no sign of a loss of spirit, no sign of being lost after the defeat. From beginning to end it is also a call to continue the fight. The most important thing in this letter is not the militant spirit of the workers who signed; the main thing is the complete clarity with which these workers who only yesterday were followers of the social-democrats, and were members of their organizations, raise the question of the necessity for an uncompromising break with the treacherous Social-Democratic Party. They condemn the crime that lies in all kinds of "Left" attempts to "restore" or "revive" the decaying corpse of social-democracy, and at the same time they warn the workers against going over to the Nazis who are the "same kind of executioners of the workers, only covered by a different skin." The main thing in this is the turn to the Communist Party, to the Comintern, a turn which has brought the appeal to all the social-democratic workers to leave social-democracy, and join the Communist Party of Austria. The important thing is the faith with which these social-democrats of yesterday and Communists of today speak of the inevitability of transforming the Communist Party, which is still a "small Party", into a powerful Party of the proletariat, which alone can guarantee the victory of the Austrian October.

The wide masses of workers betrayed by the social-democrats are now awakening, and are now turning to the Communists.

The speed with which the Communist Party of Austria will become the only mass Party of the Austrian proletariat and win sole leadership of its revolutionary struggles depends at the present moment on the ability and activity of the Communist Party.

Open the doors of the Austrian Communist Party wide to the one-time social-democratic workers who are coming to the Party. Let there be no fear of the masses! Let there be no fear that the old Communist cadres will not be able to help these workers who have understood the treacherous character of social-democracy, and who have decided to break with it forever, or that our old Party cadres will not be able to overcome all the remnants of social-democratic ideology which still exist in the consciousness of these former social-democrats.

The lessons of the struggle are teaching the broadest masses to recognize the correctness of the principles of Communism. The Communists will accomplish the rest. The storm of the second round of revolutions, which is beginning, will consolidate the millions of masses of toilers under the banner of the Communist International, under the Leninist banner, and lead them to victory.

DIE ROTE FAHNE
Special Number, February 10, 1934, No. 3

GENERAL STRIKE!

The Lissing factories in Atsgersdorf are on strike already. All the social-democratic delegates there have been arrested. The workers' club and the printing press in Innsbruck have been smashed up by the fascists. Bloody clashes have taken place there. By arrangement with Dollfuss, the Heimwehr have moved up their armed hordes at all points.

They are demanding commissioners in place of the regional governments and the social-democratic municipal authorities. Commissioners have already been installed in more than 20 local administrations formerly controlled by the social-democrats. They are demanding commissioners at the labor exchanges, in the social insurance institutions and also in private enterprises.

They want to deprive class-conscious proletarians of their last crust of bread.

Your lives, your very existence are at stake!

The C. C. of the Social-Democratic Party and the trade union leaders are continuing their treacherous policy of capitulation. Although the police and the military have seized hold of the workers' club belonging to the social-democratic organization in Vintzail, the building belonging to the consumers' cooperatives in Meidling, as well as trade union buildings, these leaders have not stirred

a finger. They want to hand the workers over to the fascists, as they did in Germany.

Smash fascism, before it wreaks its havoc on you!

Stop work immediately! *Strike!* Stop the shops nearby!

Elect committees of action to lead the struggle!

Come out on the streets! Disarm the fascists! Arm the workers!

For the General Strike!

We demand that all fascist organizations be immediately disbanded!

Down with the fascist commissioners!

Down with the fascist administrative commissions at the labor exchanges!

Restore freedom of the press and assembly, the right to belong to trade unions, and of Strike Action, without delay!

Release all anti-fascist prisoners at once!

Down with capital punishment and martial law!

Down with the hangmen's government!

COMMUNIST PARTY OF AUSTRIA,
(*Section of the Third International*).

READ! PASS ON! DISCUSS!

To the Workers of the Schutzbund:

After the great struggle which the Austrian working class put up against fascism, the time has come to discuss the question—What Next?

We workers feel only contempt for the agents of fascism, who first directed artillery fire against the homes of the workers, slaughtered and wounded hundreds of our comrades, our wives and children, and insulted us by calling us a red mob of riff-raff, and who now come to us endeavoring to recruit from among us supporters of the "fatherland front" of murderers. It is possible that some may join this "front" out of fear and under the threats of terror, but "*The toiling population was and is now against these 'Landknecht' servants of reaction*", and will yet give them a taste of its fist, will show them the power of its fist once again.

We workers cannot go to the Nazis either. They are the same kind of executioners of the workers, only covered by another skin. They are not fighting Dollfuss, they are only haggling with him for ministerial posts, so that they may jointly oppress and exploit the toilers!

What have we to do? Our enemies declare that there's an end to the class war, and carry on merciless class war against us. But our reply to them is: "*Now's the time for us to organize a real Red class war against the capitalists.*"

Where was the mistake in our struggle? Our mistake lay in the fact that, led by social-democratic leaders, we did not carry on the class war consistently and to the end. The mistake of our leaders consisted in the fact that they did not prepare us for struggle, but for negotiations. The mistake was that our leaders did not wish to and were not able to carry a serious armed uprising to victory.

We, members of the Schutzbund, of Brigittenau, were ready for battle from Monday till Wednesday. We wanted to go to the aid of our comrades in Floridsdorf. *But our leaders who know where the arms were stored, hid themselves.* And we had to look on passively and see how punishment was being dealt out to our comrades on the opposite bank of the Danube.

We also committed a big mistake after Monday. We should have declared our leaders dismissed and should have gone into battle using the means we had at our disposal, however small they were. We have learned from these mistakes. We say: *Down with these leaders!* There is only one path for us, revolutionary workers, namely, to *join the Communist Party.*

Comrades! There are workers among us who have belonged to the Social-Democratic Party for tens of years. It has not been easy for us to take this step. But it had to be done, if we wish to be victorious in struggle.

We, members of the Schutzbund from Brigittenau, address ourselves to the social-democratic workers of Vienna and call on them to follow our example.

You, comrades, who were in the very heart of the struggle saw for yourselves, and yourselves were able to judge, that you were not victorious because the leadership turned out to be bankrupt. Members of the Schutzbund who were compelled to stand idly on one side saw for themselves how their former leaders deserted them. The bloody lessons of the February uprising will not be wasted if *we restore proletarian unity once again, under the banner of Lenin.*

Comrades, no splitting groups or grouplets! We don't need to rebuild anew the old bankrupt Social-Democratic Party. Only one thing remains to be done and that is to join up with the land of Socialism, the Soviet Union!

This means brotherly unity with those who, in spite of their small numbers, fought courageously in a number of places, that is to say, with the Communists. Along with them we shall transform this Party of not many members into a powerful Party of the Austrian proletariat, and we ourselves, through this Party, shall carry on the struggle for the emancipation of the toiling population of Austria.

Therefore, our call is:

Join the Communist Party of Austria!
Long live the Third International!
Hurrah for Soviet Russia—for Soviet Austria!
(*Signed*) THE BRIGITTENAU DETACHMENT OF THE SCHUTZBUND.

THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST PARTY ON THE AUSTRIAN EVENTS

By E. GREEN AND B. BOOKER

IT IS of tremendous importance that every American toiler should familiarize himself with the events of the armed struggle of the Austrian masses in the days of February 12-16 and become acquainted with the attitude that the Socialist Party of America took toward this heroic revolutionary struggle.

The position of the American Socialist Party on the Austrian events is inseparably bound up with its general line and policy of splitting the ranks of the workers in support of the bourgeoisie pursued by it in America—to disarm the workers to the danger of advancing fascization, in its extreme efforts to prevent the consolidation of the American proletariat in its everyday struggle against the Roosevelt offensive and in the preparation of the struggle for power.

How is it then that the American Socialist Party which has time and time again emphasized its opposition to armed struggle, has come out in "support" of the Austrian events?

As we analyze the position of the American Socialist Party on Austria we will find that its verbal support was in actuality only a means by which to justify the treachery of the Austrian social-democratic leaders who are responsible for the crushing of the armed struggle and the temporary victory of fascism in Austria; to bolster up the waning confidence of the masses in the road of class peace as against class war; to endeavor through its demagogy to strengthen its influence among the American toilers.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY'S ESTIMATE OF THE AUSTRIAN EVENTS

The *New Leader,* the official organ of the American Socialist Party, gives its version of the Austrian events. It declares that the general strike of the Austrian workers which resulted in the armed revolt and the murder of 1,500 toilers by fascism was "forced" upon the masses. The workers did not want to struggle. They were "provoked" by the "reactionary minority". The masses for a long time withstood all sorts of ruthless measures by the government but "refused to resort to violence".

The courageous and heroic battle of the Austrian masses is then presented by the *New Leader* as the *"great tragedy"* that should be mourned over rather than greeted by the world proletariat.

To the American and Austrian social-fascists the armed struggle in Austria was really a tragedy. Even more, a "bloody catastrophe" as expressed by Otto Bauer, one of the leaders of the Austrian social-democracy. For them indeed it was a tragedy—not because the workers were murdered by fascism and the armed struggle brutally crushed—*but because the workers dared to take up arms* despite all their efforts to prevent it.

The Socialist Party, wishing to assure the American bourgeoisie that its "support" of the Austrian events has not altered its policy of class collaboration as against revolution, apologizes in humble tones for the actions of the masses—the masses they say "did not want" the path of revolution. The New York City Committee of the Socialist Party, in an appeal printed in the Feb. 17 issue of the *New Leader,* says:

> "The reactionary minority forced the present general strike. . . . They (the workers) have not resorted to physical conflict as a free choice. On the contrary, they have endured measureless provocations at the hands of a savage enemy. They have been patient, they have borne injustices, they have seen civil liberties and freedom of organization slowly taken away in the past few years. . . ."

The Austrian social-democracy, in their anxiety to show to the Austrian and world bourgeoisie that they are in no way responsible for the "bloody catastrophe", against their own will disclose the fact that the workers refused to uphold the policies of collaboration of the leaders and took matters into their own hands in the struggle against fascism. This disclosure we find in the interview of Otto Bauer with the *New York Times* correspondent:

> "The dissatisfaction and agitation of the workers against the conservative policy of our Party Committee grew as the government provocations increased. The workers said the government was making itself more powerful militarily, was wearing down our spirit and was choosing its own time to attack us. Excitement rose to a fever pitch during the last weeks." (*New York Times,* Feb. 18.)

The masses did not stop at dissatisfaction for they saw no change in the policies of the Austrian social-democratic betrayers. Their "patience" gave out! They turned to action! The spontaneous armed

struggle against the further encroachments of fascism broke out first of all in Linz where the Communist Party had great influence, and spread like wildfire throughout Austria. The workers of Linz, in answer to the fascist attacks, took up arms and heroically defended themselves. They informed the Vienna leaders of their action, requesting support. The leaders refused. Not only did they refuse to give the necessary support, they instead made various attempts to get in touch with the government in order to prevent the outbreak from assuming mass proportions. The last minute attempts to stop and prevent the armed struggle from spreading is revealed in the most glaring manner in the same interview with Bauer:

> "Last Sunday night in Vienna a comrade coming from Linz warned me that the workers of Linz were highly indignant and alarmed over the Heimwehr action and had declared that if any further action were taken to deprive them of their arms they would defend themselves for the sake of the Republic. I was *alarmed* to hear of this spirit, and after the discussion with my informant we both decided that urgent messages must be sent to the *workers to keep cool. I arranged for them to be told that if we in Vienna could submit patiently to an arms search in Party headquarters, they must try to do the same. Apparently the message arrived too late.*" (*New York Times*, Feb. 18, —our emphasis—E.G. and B.B.)

When the Linz workers, over the heads of their leaders, called upon the Vienna electric power station workers to join the strike and the latter responded favorably, the Austrian social-democratic leaders again desperately attempted to secure joint action with the government to stop the struggle from spreading. This is made clear in the following statement of Bauer:

> "When I heard that the electric workers had spontaneously begun to strike, I asked our finance minister Danenberg and our vice-governor of Lower Austria to ask Dollfuss or President Miklas at all costs to try to arrange *mutual action* to stop imminent fighting."

The struggle developed in spite of Bauer's message urging submission. The social-democratic leaders not being able to put through their planned action of betrayal were then forced to decide "in favor" of the general strike, with no intention of armed struggle, in order not to lose the confidence of the indignant masses once and for all.

> "In Vienna Monday morning there was a danger of a protest strike in the Fiat Motor Works on account of the arrest of the leader of the Workers' Council the previous day. While *this was being discussed, came the news of the fighting in Linz. The Council leaders of the various factories immemediately got together and decided to hold not only a protest strike but a general strike. Nothing but a strike was decided upon, however. There was no suggestion of armed resistance. . . .*" (Bauer interview—our emphasis—E.G. and B.B.)

In face of these actions of the leaders of the social-democracy of Austria to prevent the struggle, the *New Leader* attempts to cover up their betrayal and presents them as the organizers and leaders of the battles. Oneal tries to pin the badge of proletarian heroism upon the breasts of the Austrian social-democratic betrayers. He states:

> "The Austrian Social-Democratic Party was the most Marxian Party in the International. . . . we have men and women of the working class, Marxists, facing fascist artillery and machine guns in their homes. . . . Even after the fascist reaction had announced that the rising had perished, workers lifted the lids of sewers and answered the fascists with rifle shots." (*New Leader*, Feb. 24.)

So we see American social-fascists coming to the aid of their betrayers-in-arms—the leaders of the Austrian social-democracy—attempting to cover up their treacherous role and depicting them as leaders of the heroic Austrian toilers. The Austrian toilers have fought heroically. They have done so, not because of their leaders, but in spite of these leaders, whom the American Socialist Party is presenting to the American toilers as the "best Marxists" and "heroic fighters".

The treachery of the Austrian and German social-democracy is so well known that at the present time, when large sections of the toiling masses have turned against them as a result of their betrayal to fascism, they are compelled, with the hope of regaining their influence, to adopt phrases of "self-criticism" and "admit" their acts of treachery in 1918. The *Neuer Vorwaerts* of January 28, 1934, in its "new" programmatic declaration which is hailed by the *New Leader* as a great step forward, "recognizes" that the drowning in blood of the 1918 revolution was "the greatest historical mistake . . . which should not be repeated again". That these are only phrases to mislead the toiling masses can be seen in their last treacherous acts in the Austrian events.

But Oneal and the American social-fascists see Austria, after the defeat of the 1918 revolution, transformed into a "flower garden":

> "Vienna was transformed into a flower garden in its social legislation for the poor and in its municipal apartments that became a mecca for

social engineers of the world." (*New Leader*, March 3.)

Indeed to Oneal and the Socialist Party who are covering up and defending the treacherous deeds of Austria social-democracy in disorganizing and disarming the Austrian toiling masses, Vienna was a "flower garden". But to the masses it was a hell of hunger and misery. The chronic unemployment prior to the February revolt reached the tremendous figure of 600,000 out of a working population of 1,200,000 in the country. The constant wage cuts amounted to 25 per cent in 1933 alone. All these were the "flowers" which the Socialist Party speaks about in Austria—the same "flowers" it wants the American masses to cherish at home.

THE "LESSER EVIL" IN THE U.S.A. PAVING THE ROAD TO FASCISM

The Socialist Party of America supported every act of betrayal of Austrian social-democracy — in 1918, in 1927, and again in the last armed uprising, and endorses the general line and policy of the "lesser evil" of the social-democracy which has paved the way for fascism in Austria as well as in Germany.

In reply to Dollfuss' radio address in America, Oneal outlines in great detail the readiness with which the Austrian social-fascists collaborated and were ready to further cooperate with the bourgeoisie in order to prevent the "present catastrophe". Oneal is proud of these policies. He points to their acts as examples to be followed—as "the peaceful way" to the socialist millenium. Referring to the 1928 presidential elections in Austria he tells us:

> "How popular and powerful the movement has become is evident by the presidential elections of 1928. The two houses of Parliament constitute the electoral college, and it required three ballots to elect a conservative over a socialist candidate. The following was the vote: First ballot: Miklas, Center: 94; *Karl Renner, Socialist*: 91; Schober, Pan-German: 25. A second ballot made no change and on *the third ballot the socialists cast blanks and Miklas was elected.*" (*New Leader*, March 3—our emphasis—E.G. and B.B.)

They had only three votes less than Miklas, but in order to "defeat" the "greater evil" the Pan-German candidate who had only 25 votes, they supported Miklas who, together with Dollfuss crushed the February armed struggle and drowned it in the blood of the Austrian toilers. The same Miklas now, together with Dollfuss, is carrying on the legal mass murder of the Austrian toilers who so heroically fought on the barricades. The same Miklas, as in the case of Hindenburg in Germany, is now the president of fascist Austria! Is there any more proof needed to show how social-fascism paves the way for fascism?

The policy of the "lesser evil" did not begin and did not end with the election of Miklas. The Dollfuss government could not have maintained itself for a day without the support of the Austrian social-fascists. The Austrian social-democracy supported Dollfuss as the "lesser evil" to fascism just as the German social-fascists supported Bruening and Hindenburg as the "lesser evil" to Hitler. The American social-fascists have throughout strenuously supported these policies, praised them as the best means to avoid "disaster". They joined the chorus of Austrian social-democracy, who maintained that Dollfuss is the "better man" and must be supported against fascism. But the American social-fascists are nailing themselves to the wall when because of the pressure of the rank and file they are now compelled to tell the real character of Dollfuss, referring to the time when Austrian social-fascism was going to all extremes to keep him in power. Oneal states:

> "Dollfuss became Chancellor in May, 1932, and his policy was to undermine the Republic and destroy the socialist and labor movement." (*New Leader*, March 3.)

And further:

> "Shortly after Dollfuss visited Mussolini in August, 1933, the Chancellor declared that the solution of Austria's problems could only be found *in a fascist regime organized upon the Italian model* . . . Since last September, Dollfuss became virtual dictator, and with Fey as Vice-Chancellor, the *Heimwehr became a private army* under the direction of Dollfuss and the fascists." (our emphasis.) (*New Leader*, March 3.)

Notwithstanding the fact that Dollfuss' policy was to "undermine the Republic" and to "destroy the labor organizations" which Oneal states to be true for August 1933 (actually, of course, he had begun his attacks upon working class organizations from the time he came into power), this did not prevent the Austrian social-democracy until the very moment when the armed struggle began from endeavoring to get an agreement with the government. The *New Leader* of February 24 approves this action and states:

> "As late as January 18, the inner council of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party . . . declared once more that labor was willing to support the Dollfuss government to the utmost, provided that

the *constitutional rights of the masses would be fully preserved.*" (Emphasis ours.)

But Otto Bauer tells this story even more vividly than do his American companions who leave no stone unturned to whitewash their Austrian compatriots. Bauer, in the same interview referred to several times, continues:

". . . *Honestly, we didn't leave a stone unturned. . . . We offered to make the greatest concessions that a democratic and socialist party had ever made.* We let Dollfuss know that if he would only pass a bill through Parliament *we would accept a measure authorizing the government to rule by decree without Parliament for two years.*" (Our emphasis.)

These words of Oneal and Bauer, even if taken alone, are they not sufficient proof of their joint treachery? It is clear that the verbal support given by the American social-fascists to the Austrian events was not support of the armed struggle of the masses but support of the treacherous policies of the leaders. American social-fascism has attempted to utilize the Austrian events to justify its own anti-working class counter-revolutionary policies and tactics.

DOLLFUSS REGIME NOT FASCIST, ACCORDING TO S.P.

In Austria today fascism reigns. The jails are filled with the proletarian heroes of the February revolt. The fascist bourgeoisie is attempting to terrify the working class by mass murders. In the face of this temporary victory of fascism, how do the American social-fascists view the allignment of class forces in Austria today?

"Europe is slowly driving into a war. Chancellor Dollfuss has reached the stage which the Germans picturesquely describe as 'sitting between two chairs'. No man can last long in this particular position. His days are numbered; his *one way* ticket to a concentration camp or to exile is assured." (Our emphasis.) (*New Leader*, Feb. 24.)

And further:

"But it is erroneous to say that the completely disrupted Austrian bourgeoisie and bureaucracy as represented by Dollfuss is victorious. It has only been able to survive thanks to the peculiar balance of political forces in Austria, and more than that, thanks to the rivalry of the two fascist brands, the Italian and the German. Now it is slowly ground to dust by the grindstones of organized labor and fascism." (*Ibid.*)

According to American social-fascism, which only echoes its Austrian ilk, fascism does not exist in Austria today! The Dollfuss government, they say, owes its existence to the "political fight" between two brands of fascism. Dollfuss, according to them, is the third party which "sits on two chairs", with whom collaboration is both possible and desirable.

The American Socialist Party denying that fascism holds sway in Austria tells the masses that the struggle against Dollfuss fascism is not important and his acts of terror have "no significance."

"The step of the Dollfuss government to outlaw the Social-Democratic Party has no significance." (*New Leader*, Feb. 24.)

WHY THE ARMED STRUGGLE WAS CRUSHED

Why was the February armed struggle crushed by the Dollfuss dictatorship? Norman Thomas re-echoes the words of social-democracy throughout the world, and especially repeats almost verbatim the words of Otto Bauer. For Thomas, who despairs at the fact that the workers took up arms, the Austrian events were doomed to defeat from the start—the struggle had no chance of victory. And so Thomas speaks in his weekly column in the *New Leader* on February 24:

"Heroic and inspiring as the Austrian struggle was, it shows once more at what a disadvantage workers are against a government with plenty of munitions whose troops remain loyal."

Bauer, writing for the *Jewish Daily Forward* tries to vindicate himself and his brethren by similar arguments.

"No one doubts that the military forces of the government were much stronger than the power of the workers and that the workers could not succeed in the struggle against the government."

The *New York Times,* arch-reactionary organ of American finance capital, upholding the position of the social-democracy, gives almost the same estimation of the "chances" for victory.

"But it is a last-ditch fight and quite hopeless. Hourly it costs a few more lives, and it is sowing seeds from which for years will come a harvest of bitter hatred and internal strife." (Feb. 14.)

Here we have a holy united front of the social-fascists, the servants of capital in the ranks of the workers, with the direct mouthpiece of the bourgeoisie. They are all attempting to utilize the defeat of the armed struggle of the workers to discredit the very idea of the armed uprising. But the cause of the defeat is by no means that the workers re-

sorted to arms, but is that the workers, the members of the Schutzbund, who were not under the leadership of the Communist Party, were still bound to social-democratic traditions, and were therefore unable to transform this armed struggle into an armed uprising, and did not consciously give their struggle the aim of overthrowing the power of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It is inevitable that in the first stages of an uprising the workers should be poorly armed. The capitalist monopoly of the means of production is also the monopoly of the arms which the proletariat needs in order to destroy capitalism. The proletariat can gain sufficient arms only in the process of the battle against the reactionary forces of the bourgeoisie. But the Socialist Party, which agrees with the Austrian social-democracy that the chief cause of the defeat of the proletariat was due to the strength of the armed forces of reaction, at the same time fully supports the social-fascist disarming of the workers only in order to be allowed to share in the feast of the capitalists. So Oneal in the article referred to admits that already

> "In 1929 the Socialists proposed that all private armies including their own should be disbanded." (*New Leader*, March 3.)

The armed struggle of the Austrian workers was crushed not because of the strength of the reactionary forces, but because of the defeatist tactics of the Austrian social-democracy, and because an armed uprising cannot be won unless it is prepared, organized and led by the vanguard of the proletariat—the Communist Party. An armed uprising which represents the highest stage in the class struggle—the first stage in the civil war—cannot be won unless it has a central revolutionary leadership which unites the separate struggles into one united struggle with a definite aim—the aim to conquer power.

It was precisely the fact that on the eve of the events the Austrian social-democracy still had leadership of the majority of the proletariat, and the Communist Party, although virile and growing, was still too weak to smash this influence—this mainly explains the defeat of the valiant fighters who took to arms against fascist reaction. It was the fact that the majority of the Austrian workers were members of the Social-Democratic Party and had not yet overcome their social-democratic ideology that explains the fact that despite the heroism, the determined resistance of the masses, the struggle was in the main, a defensive struggle, a struggle to defend their organizations, their homes, etc., *and was not a struggle to smash capitalism, a struggle for power.*

But Oneal, writing in the March 3 issue of the *New Leader* pretends to speak in the name of these masses and says:

> "I speak . . . for those who fought for a democratic republic through which they hoped to travel a peaceful road to complete industrial democracy and social equity in all the relations of society."

But is it not clear from what has been said before that Oneal does not speak in the name of these masses who fought on the barricades? He speaks for the leaders who have tried for decades to permeate the ranks of the toiling masses with the ideology of "democracy" as a means to socialism; the homes and cooperatives pictured as the "mecca of democracy"—but never to rise up against the capitalist system and struggle for power.

ONLY THE COMMUNIST PARTY CAN LEAD WORKERS TO VICTORY

It was precisely in those places where the Communist Party was strongest and had succeeded in establishing a united front with the social-democratic workers around every day issues prior to the events that the struggle assumed the most determined character (Linz, Florinzdorf, etc.). The Party correctly issued a call for a general strike before the historic events, and did all in its power to mobilize the masses for decisive actions. When the armed struggle broke out, the Communist Party united Communist and social-democratic workers right on the barricades in many points of the struggle, who fighting fearlessly, gave their lives in the battle. But because the Social-Democratic Party still had great influence among the masses, the Communist Party was not able to transform this heroic struggle of the Austrian masses into an armed uprising—into a struggle for power and lead it to victory.

WHY THE AMERICAN WORKERS MUST BREAK WITH SOCIAL-FASCISM

The American Socialist Party has supported and is supporting the policy of the Austrian social-democracy because it is in complete conformity with its policy in the United States. The policy of the Austrian social-democracy, as of the entire Second International, is to counterpose bourgeois democracy—the hidden form of bourgeois rule—against fascism—the open form of bourgeois dictatorship. In this, they consciously hide from the masses the fact that fascism itself organically grows out of bourgeois democracy. The American Socialists repeat these same arguments on the American scene. Norman Thomas in an article written in the January issue of the *Crisis* states:

". . . There is enough validity still in our imperfect American democracy to make it wiser to talk of using and improving that democracy than to turn to dictatorship."

This endeavor to create the illusion that American democracy is allegedly not a hidden form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and that it is really "popular democracy"—a democracy which ensures a peaceful path to Socialism, is one of the means by which the American Socialist Party is already today paving the way for fascism.

German social-fascism stated, and the American social-fascists justified it, that Hindenburg was the "lesser evil" to Hitler; and today we have fascism in Germany. The Austrian social-fascists stated, and the American social-fascists supported it, that Dollfuss was not representative of the Austrian brand of fascism but the main danger was Nazi fascism; and today we have fascism in Austria with Dollfuss at its head. And Thomas point out that Roosevelt is the "lesser evil" against fascism in America, stating in the same article in the *Crisis*:

". . . it is probable that it is his (Roosevelt's intention to make his plan an alternative to fascism rather than a road to it."

By this Thomas and the social-fascist leaders are attempting to blind the working class as to the real danger of the development of fascism in America. They put forward Roosevelt as the champion against fascism and hide the fact that the very content of the N.R.A. is a step in the direction of fascism. They present the N.R.A. which has already brought great miseries to millions of American toilers as a step toward Socialism. They go to all lengths to enable Roosevelt to carry through without any resistance on the part of the masses his slave program, their "no strike" policy, open support of A. F. of L. treachery, the support of the Wagner Bill which legalizes company unions and is directed to prevent strikes, etc.).

The Communist Party, U.S.A., mobilized the masses of workers to support the heroic armed struggle of the Austrian workers and at the same time exposed the treachery of the social-democratic leaders who are responsible for the crushing of the armed struggle and the setting up of a fascist dictatorship. In this the Communist Party performed its class duty. The American social-fascists fearing that the truth will become known to the American toiling masses and that their betrayers-in-arms, as well as they, will be exposed in their true role of traitors, have become desperate in their attack upon the Communist Party. Once again they revive their foul lies that the Communist Party is responsible for the establishment of the fascist dictatorship in Germany; and claim that the Austrian masses took to the barricades only because the Communists were absent and hence unable to "split" their ranks. In the Feb. 17 issue of the *New Leader* we are told:

"The Moscow generals ignore the fact that in Austria, unlike Germany before the rise of Hitler to power, the workers have been and continue united in a determined solidarity against fascist barbarism, because the Communist International has had little following in Austria. . . . Had the Communist movement been successful in dividing the Austrian proletariat, the fascist banner would have been victorious throughout Austria within twenty-four hours after this struggle began. What is all this abnormal conduct but playing the role of hangman of the working class."

The fact that fascism has been temporarily victorious in Germany was possible only as a consequence of the policy of the "lesser evil" pursued by social-democracy which called on the masses to vote for Hindenburg, the "protector of the republic" as "against" Hitler. This is a fact which cannot be covered up by social-democratic sophistry just as they cannot cover up the fact that it was precisely social-democracy which hindered the carrying through in Germany of a general strike which the Communists called for on the eve of and at the moment of the establishment of the fascist dictatorship. But this was only the culmination point of a whole series of treacherous acts which paved the way for Hitler. What is the use of these fake maneuvers of the American Socialists who cover up the criminal deeds of the German social-democrats by directing their fire against the Communists?

We have seen that the American capitalist press, the *New York Times*, has given the same estimation for the doom of the February armed struggle as have the American Socialists and the Austrian social-democracy. They also reproach Dollfuss and the Austrian bourgeoisie in the very same manner as do the socialists for "refusal to cooperate" with their most faithful servant in the ranks of the workers—the Austrian social-democracy.

In its columns of February 14, the *New York Times* writes:

"Why the socialists were made the objects of this attack is still a mystery. . . . The socialists were striving to induce the Chancellor to enlist them in his defense of Austria."

The *New York Times* in its pages of February 15 further shows that it understands the role of the Socialist Party as "safety valve" for capitalism. It therefore praises the Austrian social-democracy for "saving Austria from Bolshevism."

"Communism in Austria has been almost non-existent as a result of the *wise* policy of the socialists. Although the socialists' adhesion to pure Marxism (!) did not fail to afford a point of attack for their enemies, actually the socialists have always kept within the limits of constitutionalism. . . . It was the socialists who after the war saved Austria from Bolshevism by adopting this policy. . . ."

It isn't surprising therefore, that the *New York Times* supports the Socialist Party in its attack against the Communists in connection with the Austrian events. It fully recognizes that the American Socialist Party is the same safety valve for the American bourgeoisie as is the Austrian social-democracy for Austrian capitalism.

The advent of fascism can be successfully fought only by uniting the toiling masses under the leadership of the Communist Party in the struggles around every day issues against capital and against the increasing political reaction in the country. It is in this sense, that the Communist Party of the U.S.A. more than a year ago, issued its appeal for united front action around these issues. It is in this sense that the Communist Party of the U.S.A. called for a united front in connection with the Austrian events. The Socialist Party flatly refused such a united front. Just as the Austro-Marxists were ready to unite with the bourgeoisie, with the Heimwehr, with the Catholics, all to save capitalism, in the same manner, the American Socialist Party, in connection with the Austrian events, united with the Wolls, the Greens, the LaGuardias who suddenly became the "sincere fighters against fascism". Thomas tries to explain away these "splitting" tactics of the American Socialist Party and states:

"It happens that I do not like the policies Matt Woll stands for in the A. F. of L., but even Communists, if they are sincere in fighting fascism, ought to understand that when right-wing, non-socialist labor men join us in opposing fascist cruelty it is not we who have surrendered to them, but they who have come to see the force of some of our positions. *It is a united front on a great issue, and if we cannot get such a front, we shall be united in common disaster.*" (Our emphasis.) (*New Leader*, Feb. 24.)

The Socialist Party refused to accept the appeal of the American Communist Party in the struggle against the N.R.A., fascism and war. The Socialist Party refused to accept the united front appeal of the Tom Mooney Committee. The Socialist Party withdrew from the united front in preparation of the Anti-War Congress held in 1933. And now, its last representatives withdrew from the American League Against War and Fascism. The Socialist Party in connection with burning issues where the interests of the workers are involved does not worry about "common disaster". But the Socialist Party has entered into a united front with outspoken enemies of the proletariat, because the "common disaster" it fears, is the disaster that the working class will deliver when it takes up arms and once and for all smashes capitalism, and with it, its main social support—social-fascism. It is no accident, therefore, that the Socialist Party united with the Wolls and Greens. It is in line with its whole policy of betrayal and treachery.

The Communist Party of America, did all in its power to unite the American working class in support of the Austrian events. The Socialist Party, interested only in covering up the treacherous deeds of the leaders of Austrian social-democracy and not in support of the struggle of the masses, has done all in its power to disrupt united action of the American toiling masses in support of the February events. This explains its unity with the reactionary forces and its refusal for united action of the workers proposed and fought for by the Communist Party.

The Socialist Party, pursuing the same line as that of the Austrian and German social-democracy for the "peaceful" development into "socialism" as against revolutionary action of the masses, this Socialist Party cannot but end in the same way as did the Austrian leaders in the February events. This is why the American toiling masses, in order to be able to carry through successfully the struggles for the every day needs and in preparation for the final struggle for power must now definitely break with the American social-fascists. The American toiling masses must now choose between the treachery of the Socialist Party and the consistent line of class struggle followed by the Communist Party, which is the only Party that can and will lead the toiling masses of America to the final victory—to a Soviet America.

HOW NOT TO STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM

By R.

AFTER the Hitler coup in Germany, a whole series of anti-fascist newspapers was established outside the country, with the aim of winning over the working masses, on the basis of the united anti-fascist front, and of drawing the petty-bourgeois and intellectual strata of the population into the general anti-fascist struggle under the leadership of the proletariat. The role which could have been played by these papers, in view of the great intensity of the class struggle and the powerful rise of the anti-fascist movement, was very great. However, a general review shows that in the recent period part of these papers have become the mouthpiece of political feelings such as hinder the development of the struggle against fascism. Among these anti-fascist papers, the most important role is undoubtedly played by the following: the *Gegenangriff* appearing in two editions in Prague and Paris, then the *Unsere Zeit,* both, by the way, being published by Munzenberg, and finally, the *Weltfront,* published in French and German by the International Bureau for the Struggle Against Imperialist War and Fascism. Among these three papers, only the *Weltfront* can be regarded as a good anti-fascist fighting newspaper. In its main articles, it elaborates the problems of the war danger and points out the specially aggressive role played by German and Japanese imperialisms. It further examines the development of the fascist movement in a whole series of countries, deals with the results of the Hitlerite dictatorship and publishes, though to an insufficient extent, a whole series of vivid examples of the anti-fascist united front. The weakness of this paper is primarily that its contents are not vivid enough, that the political section is not enlivened by clear and polemical articles, etc. Despite these weaknesses, the *Weltfront* can be regarded as a real anti-fascist fighting paper, while, in respect to *Gegenangriff* and *Unsere Zeit,* it must be stated on a whole series of questions not only does their political line not render any assistance to the anti-fascist struggle, but on the contrary it often causes harm and gives the reader an incorrect orientation.

QUESTIONS OF IMPERIALIST WAR AND FASCISM

The incredible intensification of the war danger in the present situation is the result of the sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism, which has brought the capitalist world close up to a new round of revolutions and wars. Imperialist war and fascism are now inseperably connected with each other. The transition of the bourgeoisie to fascism in such big capitalist countries as Germany has intensified the danger of war. National chauvinism and the transition to the *open* propaganda of war and feverish preparations for war are the features characteristic of the fascist regime. The policy of fascism in this respect is a continuation of the policy of bourgeois democracy, which prepares for the victory of fascism, not only by its internal policy, but also by its foreign policy. Long before Hitler came to power, the German social-fascists put forward their war program in Magdeburg, based on the principle of the defense of their country. When the social-democratic imperial chancellor, Muller, proposed the construction of armoured cruiser "A," he began the policy of intensifying preparations for war in Germany. In the same way it may now be stated that in respect to the preparations for a new imperialist war there is no difference in principle between the countries where, on the one hand, the bourgeois democracy is becoming more and more fascized, and countries actually fascist on the other. This method of counterposing in principle fascist countries to democratic countries is nothing but a tricky maneuver of social-democracy, which is now, in France, Switzerland and Czechoslovakia, etc., preparing for imperialist war under the flag of the defense of democracy, and is paving the way for fascism just as it did in Germany.

Newspapers which are really anti-fascist must expose every step of the imperialist and war provocations of German and Japanese imperialisms, and should simultaneously expose the part played therein by the social-democrats. If we examine the *Unsere Zeit* from this point of view, we see that in the whole of the Special Issue (No. 15) dealing with imperialist war there is not a single word exposing social-democracy on the question of war, and the role of social-democracy as a factor preparing imperialist war is completely ignored. And this at a time when in Switzerland, the "most democratic country", the appeal of the leaders of the Social-Democratic Party to defend the country called forth a wave of mass protests from the social-democratic workers themselves. This is covered up by the line followed by the *Unzere Zeit* of trying to contrast the war preparations of the third empire to the policy of all the other imperialist powers. This can be seen in the article "Hitler the Warmonger" written by Ernst Beyer:

> "Let the German ministers announce their peaceable declarations to the world, but the *other im-*

perialists none the less see the race program of German fascism, which is a real provocatory program of imperialist expansion. They see the construction of strategic railways and automobile roads in Germany, the great rise of German war industry, the feverish organization of military and air defense in all towns, the militarization of the Storm Troops and the new recruits in the labor service camps." (No. 15, page 8.)

And in order to emphasize that this reference to the other imperialists is not a slip of the pen, the author explains that:

"The utilization of the contradictions within imperialism itself in the struggle against German fascism is the ABC of Leninist tactics." (No. 15, page 9.)

Needless to say, such a "utilization" has nothing in common either with the "ABC of Leninism" or with Leninist tactics, or with Leninism in general. Such effort leads to the exposure of German imperialism, not from the point of view of the class struggle, but from the point of view of *opportunist* combinations constructed on the contradictions between the imperialist groups, and is a line leading inevitably to bourgeois nationalism. The attitude of the *Gegenangriff* to the negotiations between Poland and Germany represents a classic example of such opportunism. Before the signing of the German-Polish Treaty, instead of the *Gegenangriff* openly accusing fascist Poland of making anti-Soviet combinations regardless of the pact of non-aggression which she had concluded with the Soviet Union, and also regardless of the fact that fascist Germany, as Poland knows quite well, will never abandon the design of violently revising its eastern frontiers, this paper spent its time urging the Polish imperialists not to agree to an alliance with Hitlerite Germany, because Hitler's attitude to them was not a serious one:

"A treaty is a scrap of paper. This remark made by Bethmann-Hollweg is still true. The things done in Belgium in 1914 can be repeated in Poland in 1934. . . . When the guns begin to roar in the Near East, Hitlerite Germany will consider it convenient to present its demands for the Polish Corridor."

The *Gegenangriff* thus tries to restrain fascist Poland from making an anti-Soviet step by arguments taken from Polish nationalism without mentioning a word about the Soviet Union. But when, a few weeks later, the Polish imperialists, none the less, proved to be "so foolish" that, despite the warnings given by the *Gegenangriff*, they made a treaty with Germany, the *Gegenangriff* attacked fascist Germany with the same" good intentions," but on this occassion it was from the viewpoint of German bourgeois nationalism, accusing Hitler of "national treachery" for concluding a non-aggression pact with Poland:

"The conclusion of a non-aggression pact between Hitlerite Germany and Poland for a period of ten years, published somewhat unexpectedly (?) last week, illustrated the grovelling of the Hitler government before the Versailles Treaty. While the Hitlerite government is preparing to introduce the death sentence for 'attempts at treachery', they themselves are resorting to shameless national treachery."

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCIST IDEOLOGY

The fact that fascism and social-democracy are not antipodes, but twins, has been confirmed by all the events of the recent period. But there are ideologists who seem to believe in the existence of a real contradiction in principle between fascist ideology and the ideology of social-democracy. An example of this is given by Kurt Stern, who in No. 25 of the *Gegenangriff*, in an article on the fascist ideology, announces the following:

"The extremely intense sharpening of class contradictions brings about a clear division of fronts. 'Here is fascism, there is Bolshevism.' Hence it follows, and must follow, that for fascist ideology everything that does not come openly into the fascist camp is Bolshevism. . . . *Fascism as the last bulwark of the ruling class against the menace of the proletarian revolution must, both in practise and in its ideology, reject and struggle most fiercely against liberalism.*" (*Gegenangriff*, No. 23.)

Such a line does not expose the real class nature of fascist dictatorship and its ideology but distorts the class character of modern bourgeois democracy and social-democracy.

Without glossing over the difference between the various forms of bourgeois ideology, it is essential to point out how, on the one hand, fascist ideology grows out of bourgeois democracy, and how on the other hand, present day so-called "bourgeois liberalism", and especially social-democracy, are adapting themselves more and more to fascist ideology. The doctrines of "economic democracy" and of "organized" capitalism, with which social-democracy used to operate, were also directed against "liberalism," while the social-democratic praise of state capitalism as the highest form of capitalist production undoubtedly followed the same line which ideologically cleared the path for fascism.

The false assertion made by Stern regarding the contradiction in principle between modern liberal and fascist ideology was further supported by a

"Criticism" of Stern which was published in the same paper, the *Gegenangriff*, in the "Readers' Tribune." The author is not satisfied with Stern for showing the contradictions between liberalism and fascism as only an ideological contradiction. The author considers that this contradiction has an economic basis as well:

> "Liberal capitalism, which was based on competition, turned into monopolist capitalism, and it was only on this basis that the ideological superstructure of fascism developed. Comrade Stern, however, asserts that economic liberalism continues to exist, and that 'free competition' has not been touched by fascism."

This false statement made by the critic directly arises from the very first thesis of Stern himself which considers liberalism and fascism to be irreconcilable opposites. His "criticism" goes still further and sets up a theory of the incompatibility between free competition and monopoly, and fails to understand that capitalist monopoly does not abolish competition at all but exists alongside it and over it. A further development of these ideas is the theory of "organized capitalism," the ideological superstructure of which is fascism. According to such a conception, fascism does not lead to the extreme intensification of the contradictions of capitalism, but to their elimination. It is a new and additional mistake to regard fascism as the ideological superstructure over monopolist capitalism. But firstly, it is known that imperialism, as one of the stages of capitalist development, existed 20 years before fascism developed. Secondly, at a definite period monopolist capital used the services of bourgeois democracy and social-democracy. Thirdly, fascism is not an inevitable stage of development, is not a historical period inevitably accompanying the transition to monopolist capitalism. This right opportunist direction of "criticism" against Stern is, however, the logical consequence of the development of the basic mistake made in drawing a contrast in principle between liberalism and fascism.

A good illustration of where we arrive if we take in faith the phrases of the fascists to the effect that all that is non-fascist is Bolshevik, is provided by the attitude of the *Gegenangriff* to the church conflict in Germany. Under the heading "6,000 pastors in revolt," we read:

> "For many years the pastors have regarded Bolshevism as the worst system which could exist, from their point of view. Though the separation of church and state has been carried out in full in the Soviet Union, there were never any laws there applying compulsion to religion or compulsory church ceremonies. This is left to Hitler's barbarism which, in this respect, is plainly the very opposite to the religious freedom in the Soviet Union. While the Marxists are overcoming religion by scientific means, Hitler's bright young men are introducing a regime of violence into church affairs."

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST SOCIAL-FASCISM

It must be absolutely obvious to every revolutionary anti-fascist that no struggle against fascism can be carried on without a struggle against social-fascism, as the main social support of the bourgeoisie. However, it should be mentioned that the whole attitude of the *Gegenangriff* until recently not only failed to carry on any struggle against social-fascism, but on the contrary it advertised social-fascism, especially its "Left" shades. While it said nothing whatever about German social-democracy, and did not expose its manoeuvres which lead to the disruption of the anti-fascist united front of the working class, it sometimes even warmly welcomed the deceitful manoeuvres carried on by the Social-Democratic Parties of other countries. This could be felt in the attitude of the *Gegenangriff* to the conduct of the Spanish social-democrats after the last elections:

> "The Spanish socialists have fully understood the whole seriousness of the situation. It is true that it is too late. Now they know that the final victory of the Rights, the destruction of the socialist organizations, the new and fierce attack on the working class, all mean fascism. They intend to begin to defend themselves at the last minute. . . . Even during the election campaign the then Minister of Labor, Largo Caballero, stated that in essence he had no differences of opinion with the Communists. The coming days and weeks will show how far this statement was serious."

The *Gegenangriff* takes the same attitude to the victory of the "Left" social-democrats, led by Nicole, at the elections in Geneva, when it states that: "This is undoubtedly a great victory. There is an indescribable panic in the ranks of Swiss reaction."

This was the comment made by Karl Frantz on the victory of Genevan social-democracy at the elections.

Karl Frantz extols the revolutionary position adopted by Nicole in the past. He only recognizes that Nicole became a screen for reformism toward the end, and says: "We must not forget that not only was Nicole elected, but so was his inner party opponent A. New, the leader of the Geneva reformists. Nicole becomes a revolutionary signboard for reformist policy."

This same Karl Frantz is the specialist of the *Gegenangriff* on the Austrian questions. And this has led to the *Gegenangriff* completely failing to understand the development of the greatest battles of the working class in recent times, namely the

heroic February struggle of the Austrian workers. The *Gegenangriff* did not reveal the development of the class fronts, which led to this stupendous battle. It estimated the situation in Austria entirely from the point of view of imperialist combinations, about which Karl Frantz "philosophizes" in the following style:

> "The more hopeless the economic situation in the country and the greater the disappointment of the masses, the more urgently are 'victories' needed by Hitler on the foreign political front. But on which one? *War against the Soviet Union by the united armies of Europe headed by Hitler? But the carrying out of this magic dream is still a matter for the future.* And therefore, against his will, Hitler is forced to test the Versailles frontiers to find suitably weak points. The Polish Corridor? Impossible. While waiting for the future holy crusades against the Soviet Union, Hitler submits to the Versailles Treaty and recognizes the eastern frontiers. Thus Austria is left as the weakest link in this chain.
>
> "It is useless for social-democracy to call attention to itself again, and offer itself to the Dollfuss government as a support. Dollfuss cannot make up his mind to throw himself openly into the arms of social-democracy. He would be removed."

It becomes plain that Karl Frantz does not understand the real basis for the fascist measures carried through by Dollfuss, namely, the extremely deep radicalization of the social-democratic working masses, for he estimates the situation in Austria only from the point of view of imperialist combinations and the struggle of various groups of the bourgeoisie, but not from the point of view of the class struggle. This attitude leads the *Gegenangriff*, after the struggle in Austria, to the following completely social-democratic conclusions:

> "Dollfuss intends to save himself and his Christian Socialist Party from competition with the Heimwehr, when he attacks the working class, as a strong personality. It is possible that this bloody suppression of the Austrian workers will give rise to a rapprochement between Austrian fascism and German national fascism, aided by Mussolini."

This was said at a time when the struggle was in full swing. We shall not speak of the senseless contrast made between Dollfuss and the Heimwehr. The petty character of this peculiar "anti-fascism" is shown in the conviction that the rebellion was doomed to defeat from the very outset, a conviction which completely coincides with the point of view of social-democracy.

It is true that the *Unsere Zeit* did not preach such violently opportunist views on the question of the struggle against social-democracy. But this is only for the one reason that this journal ignores the struggle against social-democracy altogether. The *Unsere Zeit* publishes articles on the fascist agrarian policy, in which there is not one word on the agrarian policy of the Weimar democracy. It publishes articles on the "enslavement of women by the Third Empire," where the fascist policy on the woman question is depicted as a return to "medievalism." This is a point of view leading to an anti-Marxist contrast being made between the "medieval" ideology of fascism and the "modern" ideology of bourgeois democracy.

In this connection we should note that the *Weltfront*, whose position on questions of principle differs considerably from the positions adopted by the other two journals, does not give sufficient material dealing with the position of social-democracy towards the anti-fascist struggle. The publication of living examples of the establishment of the united front between the Communists and the social-democratic workers should without question we welcomed, but it is insufficient without the above mentioned additions.

THE QUESTION OF TROTZKYISM

The struggle against Trotzkyism is an inseparable part of the struggle against social-fascism, of which Trotzkyism is a variety. This struggle is particularly important for the anti-fascist press which is published outside Germany, because it is precisely among the German emigrants that Trotzkyism plays a greater role than it does in the country itself. It does so especially among the petty bourgeois strata of intellectuals who are now living outside of Germany.

The entire manner of treating this question in the *Gegenangriff* shows that the editors regard Trotzkyism not as a specially dangerous, counter-revolutionary trend, not as the "vanguard of counter revolution," but as a political deviation with which discussion is fully permissable. This can be seen from the fact that the journal does not carry on a campaign *against* Trotzkyism, but carries on a discussion *about* Trotzkyism. And moreover, the discussion is conducted under the slogan: "Let us argue whether we need a new party." Consequently instead of exposing this so-called "new party of Trotzky" as a counter-revolutionary attempt to split the united front of the anti-fascist struggle, this journal begins a serious discussion on this question, and it is only in the further process of the discussion that it announces, very unconvincingly, that what it had in view was not to start a discussion with Trotzkyism but to route it. This opportunist method of discussion with Trotzky was displayed especially clearly in the article of Kurt Sauerland, who started this discussion.

The main point of Sauerland's polemic consists in that he disputes Trotzky's theory which coincides with the counter-revolutionary point of view of social-democracy, that the present is not the time for struggle. Sauerland "refutes" this counter-revolutionary line of Trotzkyism, which leads to the sabotage of the proletarian struggle against fascism, in the following words:

> "Trotzky is cautious enough not to deny the growth of the economic crisis. But, blinded by the forces mobilized by the counter-revolution, he skeptically declares: 'There are no hopeless situations for the bourgeoisie. We do not know whether they will find the way out or not.' In order to conceal his pessimism, he invents a new theory to the effect that the intensification of the crisis must intensify the depression in the working class still further, while only a new boom, a new improvement in the industrial situation, will bring life to the working class movement. Trotzky is a great specialist in confusing various epochs. We wholly and completely applies that which was true for the relatively peaceful epoch of capitalism, and above all for the economic (trade union) struggle at that time, to the different circumstances of the present day. *Not a single revolution has ever broken out at a time of economic boom* [italicized by Sauerland]. But we will not be unjust to Mr. Trotzky, because he is still reckoning on reforms, and reforms can undoubtedly be carried through more easily during a period of economic boom, if the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie could be reformed at all in the conditions of growing world crisis."

This of course is not a struggle against Trotzkyism but a friendly discussion with it, and moreover such a discussion as contrasts Trotzky's counter-revolutionary theory to Sauerland's mechanistic opportunist theory which actually makes common cause with Trotzkyism. Sauerland starts from the incorrect statement that the economic crisis is growing at the present time, whereas it is really passing into an economic depression which does not resemble the depressions of previous industrial crises. On the basis of this incorrect estimate he argues with Trotzky. The counter revolutionary Trotzky also claims that as the crisis deepens the depression in the working class is intensified still further, i.e. the workers lose their fighting spirit still further. What does Sauerland offer in opposition to this? In contradistinction to Trotzky, he apparently considers that as the economic crisis deepens, we do not get an intensification of the depression in the working class, but a growth of the revolutionary upsurge. But what is the path to revolution? For us this path leads through the wide development of partial economic and political mass struggles, which in the conditions of the crisis become transformed into revolutionary struggles. But Sauerland says "ditto" to Trotzky, maintaining that it is not as easy "to *carry through reforms*" in the conditions of crisis as in the conditions of industrial boom, not mentioning, however, that it is just for that reason that "struggles for reforms" in the conditions of crisis assume revolutionary importance. As the result, Sauerland actually makes common cause with Trotzky in denying the necessity for developing partial mass struggles at the present time. Further Trotzky connects up the new industrial boom with a new enlivement of the workers' movement, which, once again, is not a revolutionary upsurge but merely livening up of the workers' movement, livening up of the struggle for reforms. What does Sauerland put up against this? The thesis that "not a single revolution has broken out in a period of economic boom," and this thesis is put forward in the conditions of the general crisis of capitalism, in conditions when imperialist contradictions are intensified to an extreme degree and which may lead to war at any moment. Thus even should an industrial boom set in, an event, by the way, which is absolutely not anticipated, at any rate in the near future, Sauerland is prepared to agree with Trotzky that in such a case what will be possible will be a struggle for reforms.

* * *

In our review, we have only been able to touch on the chief mistakes of the anti-fascist mass papers which have displayed failure to understand politically the tasks and methods of the revolutionary anti-fascist struggle, and the completest opportunist distortion of proletarian class policy. These facts alone show clearly enough that a part of the anti-fascist mass press, and above all the *Gegenangriff* as well as the *Unsere Zeit*, are adopting a position which has nothing in common with the development of a real anti-fascist struggle.

It is only recently that some improvement is to be noted in the work of the *Gegenangriff*, as shown in the fact that a whole number of articles deal in principle with the role of social-democratic "anti-fascism" and treat of the chief problems of the anti-fascist struggle, as well as in the fact that the journal publishes a whole number of good letters from Germany. But the treatment of such questions as the Austrian struggle, the Polish-German non-aggression pact, etc., shows that the transformation of the *Gegenangriff* into a real anti-fascist paper has not yet been achieved despite a certain improvement. It is only by carrying on a determined struggle against the ideological mistakes of principle mentioned by us, by mercilessly exposing such distortions of the proletarian class point of view that the anti-fascist press can develop and become the necessary weapon for the fighting anti-fascist united front.

THE STRUGGLE OF THE CHINESE RED ARMY

By CHAN-SHI

"If we should ask ourselves the question, what in the long run is the explanation of our victories over a far stronger adversary, the reply would be that the consistency and firmness of proletarian leadership in the alliance between the workers and toiling peasants were excellently embodied in the organization of the Red Army." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 17, p. 412, Russian Edition.)

THE Chinese Red Army which grew up on the basis of the agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution is the armed bulwark of Soviet power in China. It was the existence of a class conscious army of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party that made possible the victory of Soviet Power over a considerable territory in China.

The historical course of the Chinese Red Army presents an example of the transition from lower forms of revolutionary struggle to the highest, from isolated revolutionary actions of small guerilla detachments to the regular armed forces of the revolution.

I. FROM GUERILLA DETACHMENTS TO A REGULAR RED ARMY

The Chinese Red Army has grown up and established itself during the period between 1928-30. The beginning of the organization of the first Red Army units (First Division, II, III and IV Corps of the Red Army) dates from 1927-28. The first scanty Red Army units were formed by workers and separate partisan detachments from among the insurgent peasantry. It was the wave of the new revolutionary upsurge in China, the new rise of strike movement in the cities, and the struggle of oppressed peasant masses in the countryside that laid the foundation for the rapid development and ever-growing might of the Chinese Red Army.

Among the first Red Army units, the strongest, best fit for struggle and most mature politically was the Fourth Army Corps led by Comrades Chu-Teh and Mao Tsi-Tung. The main forces of this Corps were formed in the south from the remnants of the defenders of the Canton Commune, the best revolutionary elements of the army led by Comrades Ho-Lung and Yi-Ting and of peasant partisan detachments. After leaving Kwantung where ruthless White Terror was raging following the suppression of the Canton uprising and the devastation of the Soviet district in Hai-Fung and Lu-fang, these units marched across northern Kwantung and southern Hunan to southwestern Kiangsi, on their way organized the oppressed masses of workers and peasants and rallied them to the struggle. Some sections of the future Fourth Corps took a most active part in the creation and later in the defense of the Soviet district in Renhua, north Kwantung (which existed in February-March 1928), and in the uprisings of southwestern Hunan, etc. It was only after the revolutionary movement in these regions had been suppressed by the forces of the Kuomintang reaction, that the first Red Army units of southern China retreated to the Ching-Kan-Shen mountains, situated in the western part of the Kiangsi province (Ningan district). It was here that the Fourth Corps of the Red Army of Chu-Teh and Mao-Tse-Tung was formed.

As early as July 1928, the corps numbered over 10,000 fighters in its ranks and had 2,000 rifles at its disposal while its influence spread over a territory covering seven districts (Chalin, Tausian, Lianhua, Hivi-Si, Fuchang, Yunsin and Ningan) in the Kiangsi and Hunan provinces.

Thus a basis was created for the Chinese Red Army, such as was the strongest then in existence. It very soon became the centre of attraction for partisan detachments and isolated revolutionary elements over a radius of six hundred miles. Among the first to come was a detachment of Hunan peasants headed by Huose-Tung and a detachment of miners from Anhwang. These units were directly constituted as part of the Fourth Corps. The Third Corps led by Comrade Peng-Te-Hwai (reformed in 1928 from the insurgent Kuomintang regiment led by Peng-Te-Hwai and of local partisan units) which came along in the beginning of 1929 remained an independent Red Army unit.

Thus, after the Fourth Corps occupied the mountainous and inaccessible region of Ching-Kan-Shen, it was able not only to preserve its old cadres, but also to replenish them from the new revolutionary elements who gathered under its banners. In their preparations for further battles, the commanders of the corps carried through the re-formation of the units. The corps was constituted of six regiments. These detachments were distributed in the districts, and conducted broad organizational work in the localities, raising the masses to the struggle against the exploiting classes, and organizing and helping them to set up organs of revolutionary power, namely, Soviets.

During all this period, the units of the Fourth Army Corps which stood at the head of the other

Red Army units of the Ching-Kan-Shen base, were engaged in continuous guerilla warfare against Kuomingtang troops which repeatedly attempted to smash Ching-Kan-Shen. During the year 1928 alone, the Red Army of that District beat back four united punitive expeditions organized by the Kuomintang, to say nothing of the battles fought against individual militarist units. It was only the fifth united expedition that forced the Fourth Army Corps to leave Ching-Kan-Shen. It was in winter, when very cold weather prevailed, that the Red Army men of the Fourth Army Corps, without clothes or footwear, carried through a most difficult drive on the Fukien province, and smashed the reactionary troops which pursued them, or which they encountered on their way. The battles fought during this drive were of the most bitter character. The Red Army men of the Fourth Army Corps were without munitions and fought their armed adversaries hand-to-hand, with bayonets, pikes, sticks and stones. During the course of this drive the main form of struggle was hand-to-hand fighting.

It was not an accident that when working out their plans of retreat from Tsinganshan the commanders of the corps chose the direction leading to Western Fukien. A Soviet Government had existed there from February to December 1928, but had been smashed by the armies of the local militarists not very long before. In Southern Fukien the Fourth Corps units would be assured of the support of the local population. A new base for Red Army could be established in Western Fukien. And sure enough, the appearance of the Fourth Corps in Western Fukien kindled new enthusiasm among the workers and peasants, who rose once again to overthrow Kuomintang rule. From that time on Western Fukien became one of the strongholds of the Soviet movement.

The results of the struggles and political activity of the Fourth Army Corps, show that it most consistently carried into life the decisions of the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of China (1928). In particular it confiscated the land owned by the landlords, transferred it to the peasants on the basis of equalitarian division and also took an active part in the creation of local organs of Soviet power and in the further formation of new Red Army units.

In the main, at that time, there were two large Red Army units in the district to the north of the Yangtze; the First division, later the First Army Corps in the region bordering on Hupeh, Honan, and Anhwei, and the Second Army Corps led by Lo-Hwang which operated in Western Hunan and Hupeh the Hofung-Ufung region; in 1929 the Sixth Army Corps was created in the region of the Hunghu Lake.*

The new revolutionary upsurge (about the second half of 1929) also signalized the beginning of the extremely rapid growth of the Red Army, the Red Guard, of partisan detachments and other armed units of the worker and peasant masses. Since that time and parallel with the rapid expansion of the Soviet districts as well as the deepening of the agrarian revolution and the growth of revolutionary attitude of the broad masses, a rapid and steady growth of the Red Army is to be observed both as regards numbers enlisting and as regards armaments at its disposal. The quantative growth of the Red Army may be judged from the following data:

In 1928 the Red Army consisted of 10,000 men.
In 1929 the Red Army consisted of 22,000 men.
In 1930 the Red Army consisted of 62,000 men.
In 1931 the Red Army consisted of 145,000 men.
In 1932 the Red Army consisted of over 170,000 men.**

In 1933 the Red Army consisted of over 200,000 men.

In 1934 the Red Army consisted of over 350,000 men.

This growth of the Red Army had to be given a definite shape and thus strengthened organizationally. As early as 1930 the First, Second and Third Armies were created. The first army comprised the III, IV, XII, XX, XXI, XXII Army Corps. Chu-Teh was appointed commander. The Second Army, of which Ho-Lung was appointed commander, comprised the II and VI corps. The Third Army of which Peng-Teh-Hwai was appointed commander consisted of the VII, VIII, and XVI corps. A little later in 1931 the Fourth Army was created on the border of the Hunan, Hupeh and Anhwei provinces, out of units of the former First Army Corps and of other units formed at a much later period.

By 1930 the Red Army had grown to such an extent, that it was in a position to seize the provincial Hunan centre, Changsha, but a number of political and military blunders forced it to leave Changsha.

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* In 1930 the Second and Sixth Corps were re-formed near Badum into the Third Army Corps and the Seventh and Ninth Divisions; at the same time the Ninth Division was created by Tuan-Teh-Chang in the Hunhu Region.

**These figures do not include the reserves of the Red Army, namely, the partisan detachments of the Red Guard and the Young Guard. There are about 600,000 fighters in the ranks of the Red and Young Guards.

The lessons taught by the operations around Changsha were of tremendous importance for the Chinese Red Army. The seizure of Changsha inspired the broad masses of workers and peasants throughout the whole country on one hand to attain new victories, but on the other hand, the operations around Changsha revealed a number of shortcomings in the Red Army. Immediately after the last campaign against Changsha (September 1930) a struggle arose in the Red Army for the elimination of the shortcomings referred to and this coincides with the struggle against the "Li-Li-San line" in the Red Army.

Nineteen Thirty was a year of growing revolutionary upsurge in China, when a revolutionary situation existed in part of the provinces of southern and central China. For the Chinese Communist Party this was a year of heavy struggle not only on the military front, but also inside the Party. The so-called "Li-Li-San line" which had such a harmful influence on the activity of the Soviet and Party organs in China, could not fail to find its reflection in the Red Army as well. The tasks imposed on the Red Army, at that time, (the seizure of the largest cities of China) were beyond its strength and resulted in heavy losses and in worsening of the morale of the Red Army. The expansion of the Soviet districts carried through by the forces of the Red Army, but without a sufficient consolidation of the old Soviet territories, led to a separation of the Red Army from its territorial bases. The disarming of partisan detachments and of the detachments of the local Red Guard, and the transfer of these arms to the Red Army not only laid bare the rear of the Red Army. A formal approach to the expansion of the Red Army, manifested in mechanically renaming a number of partisan detachments as divisions and corps of the Red Army (about 35 corps were formed in this manner), weakened the political apparatus and political activity in the army.

The most negative results of the Li-Li-San policy were manifest in the Second Red Army. By the beginning of 1930 this army grew in numbers up to 7,000 men, and being located in the largest Soviet district, Western Hunan and Hupeh, in the region of the Hunhu lake it was in a position to accomplish the re-forming, replenishment and political consolidation of its units. The territory of the Soviet District was considerably increased dur ing the stay of the Red Army in that district. With the assistance of the Party political organizations in the Army a good deal was accomplished towards deepening the agrarian revolution (the equalitarian redivision of the land, the struggle against kulakdom, the organization of groups of the poor, etc.): broad mass organizations were created, in particular, the detachments of the Red Guard, of the Young Guard, and so forth.

However, when the Second Army, in carrying out the instructions of its adventurist petty-bourgeois leadership, left the Soviet district of Lake Hunhu, and proceeded to roam over the Hunan and Hupeh provinces, all these achievements were jeopardized, the Li-Li-Sanist Commissar of the Second Army, Tang-Chung-Sia, who was at that time in charge of the operations of the army, justified these tactics by stating that the Second Army was thus creating "new Soviet regions." However, all these statements were nothing but empty pseudo-revolutionary phrases. As a matter of fact they hid a reluctance to carry on a difficult and persistant struggle for the consolidation of the old Soviet district, a reluctance to carry on the struggle against the Kuomintang troops which during the first and second anti-Soviet campaigns surrounded the Soviet district of the Hanhu Lake in a close ring. The result was that the Soviet district was considerably reduced, while the whole onus of the struggle against the Kuomintang troops during the First and Second campaigns fell on the newly formed 9th Division led by Tuan-Te-Chang and on the local units of the Red and Young Guard.

When the opportunist errors of the leadership were exposed and rectified, the Second Army returned to the Soviet District, but in a considerably weakened state. It lost over 50 per cent of its numbers during the course of its wanderings. This was supplemented by the fatigue and the worsened political and moral state of the masses of the Red Army, due to repeated defeats and continual wanderings from place to place. Later on, while in the Soviet District, the Second Army recovered and after replenishing its units succeeded in giving a rebuff to the Kuomintang troops during the 3rd and 4th anti-Soviet campaigns.

The consolidation and growth of both the Red Army and the Soviet districts could not but arouse the strong resistance of the class enemy. In addition to attacks from without by the generals (the anti-Red campaigns), the Kuomintang clique tried to set up various counter-revolutionary organizations inside the Soviet district and in the Red Army. At that time the Red Army contained a considerable percentage of soldiers from the armies of the militarists who had come over to the side of the revolution; as well as a certain streak of representatives of the village bourgeoisie (the kulaks). These elements enabled the Kuomintang to set up the counter-revolutionary organization "A-B-Tuan" in the Soviet districts. The object of this organization was the dissolution of the Red Army, and the wrecking and overthrow of Soviet power.

The Chinese Communist Party and the Soviets had to accomplish a great task in order to liquidate the counter-revolutionary organization "A-B-Tuan". The Red units had to be "purged" several times. The liquidation of this counter-revolutionary organization was achieved by realizing the correct line of the Chinese Communist Party, on the basis of correctly solving the agrarian question in the village and the strengthening of the political activity locally and in the Red Army.

Steeled and strengthened in its struggle against the counter-revolutionary troops of the Kuomintang, and in its fight against imperialism, the Chinese Red Army beat back five Kuomintang campaigns in the period from 1931 to April 1933. Since September 1933, the sixth campaign of Chiang Kai-shek has been successfully defeated by the Red Army. About ninety divisions led by militarists are now engaged in fighting the Red Army and the Soviet districts. This army of Chinese counter-revolution, 800,000 strong, which enjoys all possible help and leadership from the imperialists, which is well supplied with technical means of struggle (artillery, machine guns, aviation, chemicals, engineering troops, etc.) has failed to achieve any positive results hitherto.

Not only did the Red Army beat these blows back, but even inflicted numerous serious defeats upon the reactionary troops. "The united counter-revolution of the Chinese and foreign bourgeoisie is not strong enough to check the growth of Soviet Districts." (Stalin, *Report to the Seventeenth Congress of the Party on the work of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.*).

The Political Department of the Chinese Red Army has published the following approximate data of the results of the struggle of the Red Army over a period of two years and three months:

This table is not complete, and relates chiefly to the victories of the Red Army of the Central Soviet District. However this table shows that the Kuomintang troops suffer even greater and greater losses from year to year.

The Red Army achieved great successes in its struggle against counter-revolution in 1933. In the published report for 1933 the Provisional Central Soviet Government informs that the numbers of the Red Army Soldiers doubled during the year under report.

During the year 1933, the Red Army seized about 100,000 rifles from the Nanking troops and provincial militarists. The Red Army smashed up 41 regiments, 6 battalions and 10 companies, and inflicted defeat on 8 divisions, 33 regiments and one battalion. Twenty regiment brigade and division commanders were taken prisoners and a great number of munitions and other kinds of trophies were seized.

The Red Army carried on extensive political, educational, and organizational activity among the toilers, created mass organizations of workers and peasants and carried on work connected with the consolidation of the Soviet districts, and the consolidation of the Soviet power. In addition, its heroic and successful struggle against the class enemy, both against the Kuomintang army at the front and against the counter-revolution inside the Soviet districts, brought enormous popularity to the Red Army among the toilers right throughout China.

II. THE SIZE AND THE ORGANIZATION OF THE RED ARMY

By the beginning of March, 1934, the number of soldiers in the Chinese Red Army was as follows:

Year	Number of units defeated	Prisoners taken	Arms seized	Generals and colonels taken prisoners
1931	3 divisions 5 brigades 15 regiments	52,000	44,000 rifles 8 radio stations, machine-guns and bomb-throwers	3 Div. Cmdrs., 1 Asst. Div. Cmdr., 2 Brigade Cmdrs., 2 Regiment Cmdrs.
1932	6 divisions 12 brigades 6 regiments	71,000	54,600 rifles 290 bomb-throwers, 5 radio stations, 2 aeroplanes	2 Div. Cmdrs., 1 Asst. Div. Cmdr., 6 Brigade Cmdrs., 1 Asst. Brigade Cmdr, 14 Reg. Cmdrs.
1933 (January February March)	4 divisions 3 brigades 13 regiments	31,800	30,400 rifles 5 cannons 2 bomb-throwers 1 radio station	2 Div. Cmdrs. 1 Asst. Div. Cmdr. 1 Asst. Brigade Cmdr. 2 Reg. Cmdrs.
Total for 2 years and 3 months	13 divisions 20 infantry brigades 34 infantry regiments	154,800	129,000 rifles, 292 bomb-throwers, 14 radio stations, 5 cannons, 2 aeroplanes	7 Div. Cmdrs., 3 Asst. Div. Cmdrs., 9 Brig. Cmdrs., 1 Asst. Brig. Cmdr., 17 Asst. Reg. Cmdrs.

Name of Army and the Corps	*Number of men*	*Number of rifles*
Kingsi-Fukien		
Red Army of the Central Soviet District.....	145,000	100,000
Eighth Corps	4,000	4,000
Sixteenth Corps	10,000	10,000
Szechwan-Hupeh		
4th Red Army.....	110,000	80,000
2nd Red Army.....	20,000	10,000
XXV and XVIII Corps	10,000	5,000
Shansi		
XXVI Corps	1,000	1,000
Total	350,000	219,000

Note: On Jan. 1, 1933 there were only 15,000 fighters in the 4th Red Army.

The forms of military organization of the Chinese Red Army Units were established gradually and in a groping manner by the Party and the leaders of the guerilla movement, during the process of their struggle against reaction. The difficult conditions under which the search for a really vital organization was carried out, delayed the transition to the regular building up of the armed forces of the Chinese revolution for a rather long period. Even at the end of 1930 the organizational scheme of the units of the Red Army of China was extremely varied and multiform. As a rule, every region, every leader of the guerilla movement introduced his own additions to the military organization of the Red Army, which at that time was weakly developed. This period of search for organizational forms proved to be a very lingering one and could be overcome with difficulty even by the most consolidated units (The Fourth Corps led by Comrade Thu-Teh). It was only in the early part of 1930 that the whole Party proceeded persistently and vigorously to reorganize the scattered partisan units, as yet not united by any single commanding body, into one well-knit organization of the armed forces of the revolution.

The peculiar features of the mountainous region where the Chinese Red Army units are carrying on their military operations, as well as a number of other peculiarities (the character of the enemy, cadres for the commanding staff, and their training, the technical satisfaction of the needs of the army and so forth) made it urgent that the reorganized Red units pass over to a form of military organization as would be won over in the above conditions.

On the other hand the necessity of preserving the high mobility of the units under the conditions where cadres for the commanding staff were wanting and the condition of the military technique, coupled with the fact that army supplies were decentralized, impelled the commanders of the Red troops to organize corps of a lighter type.

The Party-political apparatus of the Chinese Red Army and the commissars entered as an integral part of the Red partisan detachments from the very first day of their existence. It was also quite natural that in the process of the growth of guerilla warfare, the political departments and the institution of War Commissars underwent a number of changes of an organizational nature. The staff of political workers in the armies was chiefly drawn from local party organizations.

The problem of radically reorganizing all the armed forces of the Chinese revolution came to a head along with the growth of the revolutionary movement in the cities, with the extension of the agrarian revolution in the villages, with the consolidation of the daily growing fighting power of the partisan Red Armies of China, and also as a result of their victory in a number of regions.

By the end of 1930 the reorganization of the armed forces of Chinese revolution was started. The First Congress of Chinese Soviets gave concrete instructions as to the creation of a regular Chinese Red Army. The Congress paid particularly great attention to organizational problems and found it imperative "to realize in the shortest possible time all the necessary practical measures connected with the organization and consolidation of the fighting power of the Red Army."

The following measures were carried out forthwith:

(a) The organization of a Revolutionary War Council — a central, operative and party-political organ for all the armed forces of Chinese revolution. Shuikin, the capital of Soviet China, was chosen as the seat for the Revolutionary War Council. Comrade Chu-Teh was appointed President of the Council, with Comrade Peng-Teh-Hwai as his assistant, while Comrade Wang-Tai-Chang was made head of the Political Department.

(b) The organization in all Soviet districts or Army regions of "Revolutionary War Councils of Armies and Districts" to be composed of Army commanders, members of the Revolutionary War Council and the secretaries of the Central Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

(c) The organization of a Central Political Department of the Chinese Red Army (C. P. D., C. R. A.) and a reorganization of all the lower political departments. The organizational scheme of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army as existing in the U. S. S. R. was taken as a basis for this reorganization, with some minor alterations.

(d) The centralization of all the war supply departments of the Chinese Red Army, and the immediate reorganization of the existing supply apparatus in the Chinese Red Army.

(e) The working out of a single organizational scheme for the corps, divisions, regiments, and lower units down to the sections, with the view of making the new army staff alert, flexible, and tactically efficient in the highest possible degree.

The System of Recruiting. The existing units of the Chinese Red Army were recruited on the basis of voluntary enlistment. "All toilers, workers, agricultural laborers, poor and middle peasants, and the urban poor have the right to participate in the armed defense of the Soviet power; anyone, belonging to the ruling, exploiting class, whether militarists, landlords, tuhao and gentry, bureaucrats, capitalists and members of their families have no right to enter the Red Army" (Resolution of the First Congress about the Red Army).

The Party and Soviet organs on the spot conduct systematic recruiting for the Red Army through military committees, which rigidly observe class principles in recruiting.

The popularity of the Red Army among the working class and the basic masses of the peasantry provides it with vast reserves to replenish its forces.

The most important sources for its replenishment are the following:

(a) Workers from industrial centres and enterprises;

(b) Units of the Red Guard, of the Young Guard, and partisan detachments. It should be noted, that the divisions formed from Red Guards, who have received land when it has been divided on the equalization principle, have been the staunchest fighters aganist the Kuomintang troops;

(c) Regiments, detachments and divisions of the regular army attached to militarists, and composed of soldiers and a certain percentage of officers, who have joined the revolution and come over to the Red Army.

War Supplies. The centralization of the whole supply departments which was carried out in connection with the reorganization of the Red Army units, considerably improved the state of supplies in the Chinese Red Army. The improvement in the economic condition of the Soviet districts (the finance and taxation policy, the development of goods traffic, and so forth) had a most important effect upon the war supplies of the Chinese Red Army.

The toiling population of both the Soviet districts and Kuomintang territory have rendered tremendous assistance to the improvement of the supply of foodstuffs to the Red Army.

The equipment of the Red Army units in China is at present satisfactory. The Red Army men in nearly all the armies are provided with summer and winter uniforms.

The equipment of the Red Army men and of the commanding officers consists of the following items: a cap with the five-pointed star on its band, a blouse (with a red band and a star on the right sleeve), a pair of trousers, a belt, putties and grass or leather slippers.

How the Chinese Red Army is Armed. The whole of the armaments in the hands of the Chinese Red Army consists of trophies. They consist of rifles, machine guns, guns of all systems and calibres, and so forth. In addition to fire-arms the Red Army units are in possession of all kinds of cold steel. The armament of the Chinese Red Army consists at the present moment of the following:

Infantry: Rifles from Hanyan arsenal, 7-9 mm. Japanese 6.5 mm., German Mausers, etc. Machine guns—Maxims of the German type, Hochkiss, Colt, Vickers, etc.

Artilery: Mountain cannons "3," Japanese field 75 mm. Arisaka, German Krupp, etc.

The commanders of the Red Army are exerting all efforts to create gun and munition shops. There are only a few such shops in existence at present. And they are chiefly engaged in repairs, production of cartridges and hand grenades. The state of these shops has improved considerably in the recent period.

III. THE SIXTH CAMPAIGN OF THE KUOMINTANG COUNTER REVOLUTION

The preparations for the Sixth campaign lasted over four months. Chiang Kai-shek aimed his main blow against the Central Soviet district in the provinces of Kiangsi and Fukien. At a conference held at Kuling (a health resort, south of Kiukiang) in the summer of 1933, jointly with the representatives of foreign powers, the following decisions were taken:

1. To use the funds obtained by means of loans for the purchase of ammunition (airplanes, tanks, arms, etc.) to be used by units fighting against the Red Army, and also to bribe the Kwantung and Hunan militarists with the aim of making these join the Sixth campaign.

2. To intensify the economic blockade of the Central Soviet District and the repression directed against persons and organizations trading with the Soviet districts; to introduce a rigid control of the trade carried on in the regions adjacent to Soviet territory.

3. To reorganize the demoralized troops and to

regroup them once again against the Red Army. To transfer new divisions from the Nanking-Hankow district.

4. To carry out a short-term retraining of officers and to acquaint them with military operations in the mountains; to organize an officers' school in Kuling for this purpose.

The Sixth campaign against the Soviet districts was begun in the early part of September, 1933.

At the commencement of the Chiang-Kai-shek "great" offensive the correlation of forces was as follows:

Name of the Army	No. of divisions	No. of men	Armament					
			Rifles	Light machine guns	Stand machine guns	Artillery	Bomb throwers	Airplanes
Red Army of the Central Soviet District without the 8th and the 16th Corps...	—	145,000	100,000	1,090	——	40	157	3
Nanking, Kwantung and Fukien troops	49	440,000	318,700	1,050	2,255	720	570	70

This table does not include the 8th and 16th corps of the Red Army, against whom the Western Army headed by Ho-Chien (a Hunan militarist) is operating. Ho-Chien is at the head of 16 divisions and two brigades numbering about 150,000 men, and located to the west from Gan River in the province of Hunan and in the southern section of Hupeh.

The chief task in this direction is to fight the Soviet movement in the regions of the 8th and 16th Red corps.

Furthermore, the army of Szechwan militarists, numbering 200,000 men is participating in the Sixth campaign against the Fourth Red Army in Szechwan, and about 80,000 men are operating against the 25th and 28th Red Army corps in Hupeh. Thus the army of the counter-revolution taking part in the Sixth campaign consists of 800,000 men.

The above comparison of the correlation of forces between the Red Army and the armies of the counter-revolution, shows that the Kuomintang troops outnumber the Red Army by four times, to say nothing of the former's technical superiority.

Kuomintang troops which operated against the Central Soviet district were concentrated in three groupings: the first composed of 31 divisions, and numbering 300,000 men, was stationed in the Nanchang-Fuchow-Chiang region; the second, composed of eight divisions of 65,000 men, was located in the southern section of the Kiangsi province (Kanchow-An-Yuan-Nankang); the third composed of six divisions and numbering 72,000 men, operated in the Fukien province; four divisions of this grouping belonged to the 19th Army (20,000 men).

The Revolutionary War Council of the Red Army estimated the existing situation quite correctly when it decided to safeguard the Soviet district from the 19th Army and Kwantung troops before the commencement of Chiang-Kai-shek's campaign. In August, 1933, the Third Red Army corps led by Pen Da-Houai utterly defeated the 19th Army. The 78th division of the 19th Army was absolutely crushed. Having accomplished this task, the 3rd Army corps by forced marches, proceeded northwards, defeating the 4th brigade of the 2nd new division and the Fukien brigade of Ma-Hun-sing on its way. The 61st division of the 19th army also suffered considerable defeat. Moreover, the Red Army units smashed the 7th Kwantung division in the southern section of Kiangsi province.

In its battles with the 19th Army, the Red Army of the Central Soviet District captured 6,000 prisoners, 4,000 rifles, 80 stand machine-guns, 180 automatic rifles, 500 Mausers, 2,000,000 rifle cartridges, 800,000 machine-gun cartridges, 900,000 cartridges for automatic rifles, 50 short-wave radios, 80 telephone apparatus, 300,000 Chinese pounds of rice and a quantity of drugs.

Upon the completion of the operations against the 19th Army, the Red commanders created (temporarily) two army groups—the eastern and the western, in order to repel Chiang-Kai-shek's army.

The very first results of the battles were favorable for the Red Army. The western group defeated three regiments of the 80th division, captured 4,000 prisoners, 2,000 rifles, 27 stand machine-guns, 35 light machine-guns, eight cannons, two radio-stations. The eastern group of the Reds, having once more defeated the 61st division of the 19th Army, captured eight barges loaded with arms and munitions. About 10,000 bearers were required to convey the property captured to the heart of the Soviet district (in Kiangsi and Fukien all loads are transported by human beings).

Anxious to stop the further offensive of the Red Army, Chiang-Kai-shek assumed the offensive on Sept. 24, 1933, in the direction of Lichuan (Einchang), broke a small shielding detachment (three regiments of the Red Army) and seized Lichuang city on Sept. 28. Lichuang was attacked by 11 divisions, divided in three columns, led by Chiang-Kai-shek.

This offensive was checked by the Red Army, and failed to develop any further. On Oct. 9, 1933, the eastern group of the Red Army commenced its offensive against Sinchang (Lichuang). In the battles of Oct. 9 and 10, the Red Army smashed the 96th division and defeated the 5th and 6th divisions of the enemy. As a result of these fights, the Red Army obtained 1,800 rifles, two radio stations and munitions.

The growth of the Soviet movement and the victories of the Red Army accelerated the process of the dissolution of the Kuomintang. During the 6th campaign, the 19th Army in Fukien after being defeated by the Red Army ceased its struggle against the latter and turned against Chiang-Kai-shek.

Chiang-Kai-shek suspended further attacks against the Central Soviet District, and decided first to smash the 19th Army in Fukien province. For this purpose Chiang Kai-shek singled out 17 divisions and one separate brigade, which advanced (December, 1933) eastwards in two groups, seized the northern section of Fukien province and pushed the 19th Army back to the southern section of the same province.

Taking advantage of the favorable conditions (maneuvering battles), the Red Army in the middle of January 1934, seized the cities of Yu-Chi and Sha-Hsien (to the south of Yanpin city). As a result of its victories over the cities of Yu-Chi and Sha-Hsien, the Red Army seized the arsenal in Yu-Chi and a large amount of explosives and all kinds of war supplies. The "Big Knives" division and a regiment of the 2nd new division of the enemy were smashed, while 4,000 men were taken prisoners, and 3,600 rifles, 23 stand machine guns, 32 light machine guns, 10,000 hand grenades, 6 cannons, one radio staiton (100 watt), over 1,000,000 cartridges, medicaments, and so forth, fell into the hands of the Reds.

Chiang-Kai-shek is once again attempting an advance on the Central Soviet District. But it is already quite obvious that the 6th campaign, upon which so many hopes were placed by the imperialists and the Kuomintang, will end with still more deplorable results than Chiang-Kai-shek's five former campaigns. The preliminary results of the Sixth "great" counter-revolutionary campaign are a proof of this.

In this campaign the Red Army of the Central Soviet District has seized 11,400 rifles, 130 stand machine-guns, 67 light machine guns, 13 cannons, 10,000 hand grenades, 6 radio stations, 180 automatic guns, 500 Mausers, about 5,000,000 cartridges, eight barges with arms and munitions, and 14,000 prisoners. In addition an arsenal has been seized with full equipment (40 machine-tools) and the required stock of explosives and powder, and these have been transported en masse right into the heart of the Central Soviet District.

At the same time it was revealed that the 4th Red Army which came to the Soviet District of the northern section of Szechwan province a year ago, composed of 15,000 fighters, has after its heroic march of 1,500 km. from the Anhwei province to Szechwan grown into a menacing force of 100,000 fighters, with its own bases created at the expense of arsenals captured from the militarists.

IV. DEDUCTIONS TO BE DRAWN FROM THE EXPERIENCE OF THE STRUGGLE OF THE CHINESE RED ARMY

With the growth and strengthening of the army proper and of its economic and political base—the Soviet districts—both the strategy and tactics of the Chinese Red Army changed.

During the 1927-1928 period, the period when the Red Army was first formed and organized, its tactics were of a purely partisan character. The Red Army avoided all collisions with large units of Kuomintang troops. It accomplished rapid movements, chiefly during the night-time, attacked separate units of the enemy unexpectedly, and after capturing their arms, resorted to the mountains once more.

The capture of district centres enabled the Red Army to increase its ranks by drawing in partisan detachments, and to organize new partisan detachments, and Red and the Young Guard detachments.

When analyzing the revolutionary circumstances which existed in Russia in the middle of 1905, when a huge wave of revolts, demonstrations, street fighting, and the formation of a revolutionary army —detachments swept all over Russia, Lenin demanded the seizure of a base of some territory. He wanted such territory for the purpose of "establishing, if even on a small territory of the state, full political freedom, to begin the revolutionary reconstruction of the rotten autocratic regime, to develop the revolutionary creative genius of the lower strata of the people in all its scope, who in times of peace take a small part in such creative work, but who in times of revolutions come to the forefront."

This thesis of Lenin was clearly corroborated by the experience of the struggle of the Red Army of China. From the very beginning of its existence the Red Army possessed a base in the form of the Soviet districts it created. The victories of the Red Army over its numerically superior and well armed adversary would have been impossible without the creation and strengthening of the Soviet districts.

The growth of the Soviet districts in 1931-32, which now represent undivided territories, led to a corresponding change in the character of the military operations of the Red Armies. The question arose not only of further extending the Soviet districts, but also of the immediate defense of the latter against the enemy invasion. During the first four Kuomintang campaigns the Red Commanders solved the task of defending the Central Soviet districts in the following manner:

(1) To retreat slowly into the depth of Soviet districts under the pressure of the adversary, without engaging in battle against superior forces;

(2) To develop guerilla warfare, thus splitting up and exhausting the enemy's forces forcing them to pursue retreating partisan detachments in the difficult conditions of a broken mountainous region, without achieving any results; and

(3) Finally, after concentrating shock groups against both flanks of the attacking armies (or on either of the flanks) to destroy the enemy by a sudden onslaught.

Such a solution of the problem of defending the Central Soviet District fully justified itself during the first four Kuomintang campaigns.

A study of the Kuomintang's campaigns shows that essentially, the plans of all these campaigns in the Kiangsi province were characterized by their extreme similarity and were conducted from north to south along the basic communications, the rivers Gan and Fu. The only thing that distinguished one campaign from the other was that the Kwantung and Fukien troops participated in turns as allies of Chang-Kai-shek, operating either from the south (Kwantung) or from the east (Fukien. Hitherto, Chiang-Kai-shek and the Kwantungian and Fukienian hirelings of the Chinese counter-revolution have failed to organize a simultaneous offensive against the Red troops.

In conformity with the plan of action adopted for the campaign and with the active assistance of German instructors, Chiang-Kai-shek during his first four campaigns, created a powerful concentration of forces and materials on the basis of the initial position of the Kuomintang army. As a matter of fact, such a concentration created an extremely dangerous situation for the comparatively weak Soviet districts which had not fully consolidated their forces, and were defended by the Red Army which, though highly reliable politically, (as compared with the counter-revolutionary forces) yet was weak in numbers and poorly armed. However, in the process of military operations and during its advance into the heart of the Soviet districts, this concentration of forces which was so powerful at the start, was split up, so that now the enemy carried on operations in separate columns, in divisions. Under the pressure of the Red Guard detachments these separate columns lost all bonds with each other and remained outside the sphere of the active leadership of Chiang-Kai-shek. During his fifth campaign, Chiang-Kai-shek, not without the assistance of his German advisors, bore in mind the experience of his first four defeats, and created shock Army corps, each of them consisting of 2-3 divisions.

The commanders of the Red Army did not take sufficient notice of this measure adopted by the Kuomintang and Chiang-Kai-shek. Instead of attacking the advancing enemy at his weakest points (the Honan formations), the Red Army Command scattered its forces. This was actually the reason why the 4th corps of the 4th Red Army was at first surrounded and later had to retreat to the Szechwan province.

The position in the Central Soviet District was quite different.

After the fourth campaign, the commanders of the Red Army decided to liquidate the enemy groupings one after another. But it was decided in the first place to achieve decisive successes at the enemy's weakly fortified position (the city of Chanchow, an important commercial and industrial point near the Swatow port). This task was brilliantly accomplished by a concentrated attack of the Reds who destroyed the city of Changchow. Having accomplished this task the Red commanders hurriedly diverted all their units in the Kangchow-Nanking district (220 miles from Changchow), where they concentrated the 1st, 3rd and 5th armies with a view to operating against the first Canton corps. This operation was characterized by the fact that it was conducted in rigid conformity to a plan and under the single operative command of the Revolutionary War Council of the Chinese Red Army headed by Comrade Chu-Teh. Notwithstanding this fact, the operation revealed a number of weaknesses in the activity of the staffs of the corps and divisions, who paid little attention to the maintenance of continuous communication between the units, and sometimes failed to carry out the instructions of the R. W. C., C. R. A. accurately, the result being an incomplete coordination of actions both when attacking and when making a forced or deliberate retreat.

Great results were achieved from these two operations not only from the point of view of the military rout of the enemy's troops, but also from the political standpoint (demoralization of Kuomintang troops). The result was that for eight months (June 1932—March 1933) there were no active operations against the Reds on the part of troops

from the Kwantung and Fukien provinces. Even the 19th Army, brought over to Fukien, failed to undertake any serious offensive.

After the routing of the First Canton Corps the whole Red Army was transferred northwards to the Ningtu-Kwanchang region in order to achieve a crushing blow at the northern grouping of the enemy, situated in the Fuchow-Nanchang region. This operation was conducted unsuccessfully. Instead of applying shock tactics in this case, the Red Army split into different units (divisions). One flank movement of the 18th corps of the Kuomintang troops was sufficient to make all the units retreat to their initial positions. For this reason the task of breaking through the front of the enemy in comparatively small units with a view to surrounding his separate units and thus to totally smash them, was not fulfilled.

The uninterrupted fighting between the Red Army and the Kuomintang troops which has taken place over the last five years, could not fail to have its effect on the economic development of the Soviet district. The majority of cities and villages adjacent to the Kuomintang territory passed from hand to hand several times. When they captured inhabited regions, the Kuomintang troops pillaged them and practiced the most brutal White Terror on the population. There is no doubt whatever, that the strategy of drawing the enemy further into the heart of the Soviet districts further impaired the economic and political position of the Soviet district.

In this connection the Red Army command bore in mind the experience of the fighting operations of the first four campaigns, and adopted more active tactics. They concentrated their main forces in the main direction and inflicted sudden blows upon the live forces of the enemy and made maximum use of the successes achieved. At the same time the maximum extension of guerilla warfare has also been one of the most important links in carrying out military operations. Guerilla warfare has now been most closely intertwined with the operations of the regular Red Army of the Central Soviet district, and has now assumed a planned character.

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party is quite correctly and in good time taking all measures to improve the economic condition of the Soviet districts. It carried through a number of decisions dealing with economic policy, which will certainly improve the well-being of the toiling masses of the Soviet district and will furnish an objective example to the toiling masses on the territory of the Kuomintang.

These decisions of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party will naturally reflect upon the further strategy and tactics of the Chinese Red Army. The Red Army is striving to conduct its operations on the territory of the Kuomintang. The Central Committee has on many occasions stressed and pointed out in its instructions that the units of the Red Army should strive to conduct their war operations on the territory of the Kuomintang. This has referred not only to the armies of the Central Soviet District, but to the 4th Red Army (which is operating in Szechwan province) as well.

The operations of the Reds in the Fifth and Sixth campaigns were conducted in accordance with these instructions of the Party, thus the correctness of the policy of adopting active tactics was fully confirmed.

For the last three years nearly all the field operations conducted by Kuomintang troops against the Red Armies have ended in the defeat of the Kuomintang. The successes of the Red Army in all the campaigns of the Kuomintang have forced the counter-revolutionary troops to pass from the offensive to the defensive, and this latter has consisted essentially in the Kuomintang troops retaining cities and communications. Despite the technical superiority of the Kuomintang troops over the Red Army, the former, with the exception of some of the shock corps—Chiang-Kai-shek's guards, are incapable of waging an open field battle, being only capable of holding fortified regions: the strategy and tactics of the English-Boer war, carried out by Lord Kitchener, the Commander of the British Army. The same strategy and tactics are now applied by the French commanders in their struggle against the Riffs in Morocco. The essence of this strategy consists of the following: the commanders of the Kuomintang army depend on the old system of fortress-towns, which they restore and supplement with up to date fortifications, thus creating a fortified belt around the Soviet districts. Basing themselves on this fortified belt they advance their shock groups, thus striving to narrow down the territory of the Soviet district. The shock groups on entering into newly occupied regions proceed to erect new fortifications, or to the restoration of demolished ones, and secure their communications by means of erecting separate small forts all along the line. These war tactics are combined with measures taken to blockade the Soviet districts economically, with the view to gradually narrowing down the territory of the Soviet districts, to isolating and surrounding them in order to thoroughly "comb" the whole territory and destroy every living being who took any part in the Soviet movement of China.

At the present moment the Kuomintang command are taking all measures to equip fighting posts in

the adjacent White regions. These measures consist in the laying of most important strategical roads, in the erection of fortified sections along the lines of communication, and in the restoration of fortress-towns. The Kiangsi province is significant in this connection. Nearly all the towns on the Guan ad Fu rivers, from Nanfang (the advanced outpost leading to the territory of the Central Soviet District) and further down the River Fu, are fortified. All these fortified large towns, together with the restored mediaeval walls have a whole network of separate forts with barb-wire stockades. Concrete is used for the fortification of such most important centers for instance as Nanchang. And even the less important towns are surrounded by strong fortifications. Thus, for instance, around Nanfang, there are about 20 partly concreted machine-gun posts surrounded by wire fences. The defense of these fortified regions is entrusted to specially selected garrison troops and is constructd on a system of rifle and machine-gun fire, and artillery.

If the economic blockade, expressed in the form of control and regulation of trade in the adjacent White regions, has failed to justify the hopes of the counter revolution (being broken through by the Red Army which is assisted by the toiling masses) the war blockade and the system of fortifications has considerably influenced the character of the operations undertaken by the Red Army. The absence of technical means of struggle creates great difficulties for the Red Army in storming the fortified regions. Success achieved in maneuvering battles have very often failed to have any further development. After crushing the adversary in open battle the Red Army units have been helpless to consummate their success due to the absence of forces and means to overcome the fortified regions in their path.

Thus, alongside the task of strengthening the economic and political situation of the region, the leadership of the Central Soviet District and of the Chinese Red Army are also confronted by the task of finding new methods of fighting for the further extension of the region. The fulfillment of this task is confronted by the difficulty of overcoming the Kuomintang belt of fortifications which are gradually surrounding the Central Soviet District. The basic armed forces of reaction are concealed behind this belt. One of the most essential fighting problems facing the Red Army at the present moment is to find the means and methods of overcoming these defensive fortifications with a view to reaching the live forces and the enemy and of destroying them.

The Revolutionary War Council of the Chinese Red Army has already taken a number of measures with a view to finding a solution of the problem of overcoming these fortified districts. Heroic measures are used to liquidate technical illiteracy, as soon as possible to master the technical means of struggle captured from the enemy following on the victories of the Red Army, to create organizing units, and so forth. Parallel with these measures the activity is also being intensified to the dissolution of the Kuomintang garrison.

The fight for the extension of the territory of the Soviet Districts unconditionally demands a further development and consolidation of the Chinese Red Army, and what is most essential, the mastering of the technique in possession of the enemy. "Anyone will agree that any army, which is not prepared to master all categories of arms, all means and methods of struggle which are or may be in possession of the enemy, is behaving unreasonably and even criminally." (Lenin, Vol. XVII, p. 182).

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